

AN
HISTORICAL
GEOGRAPHY OF
IRAN

W. BARTHOLD

TRANSLATED BY
SVAT SOUCEK

EDITED WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY
C. E. BOSWORTH

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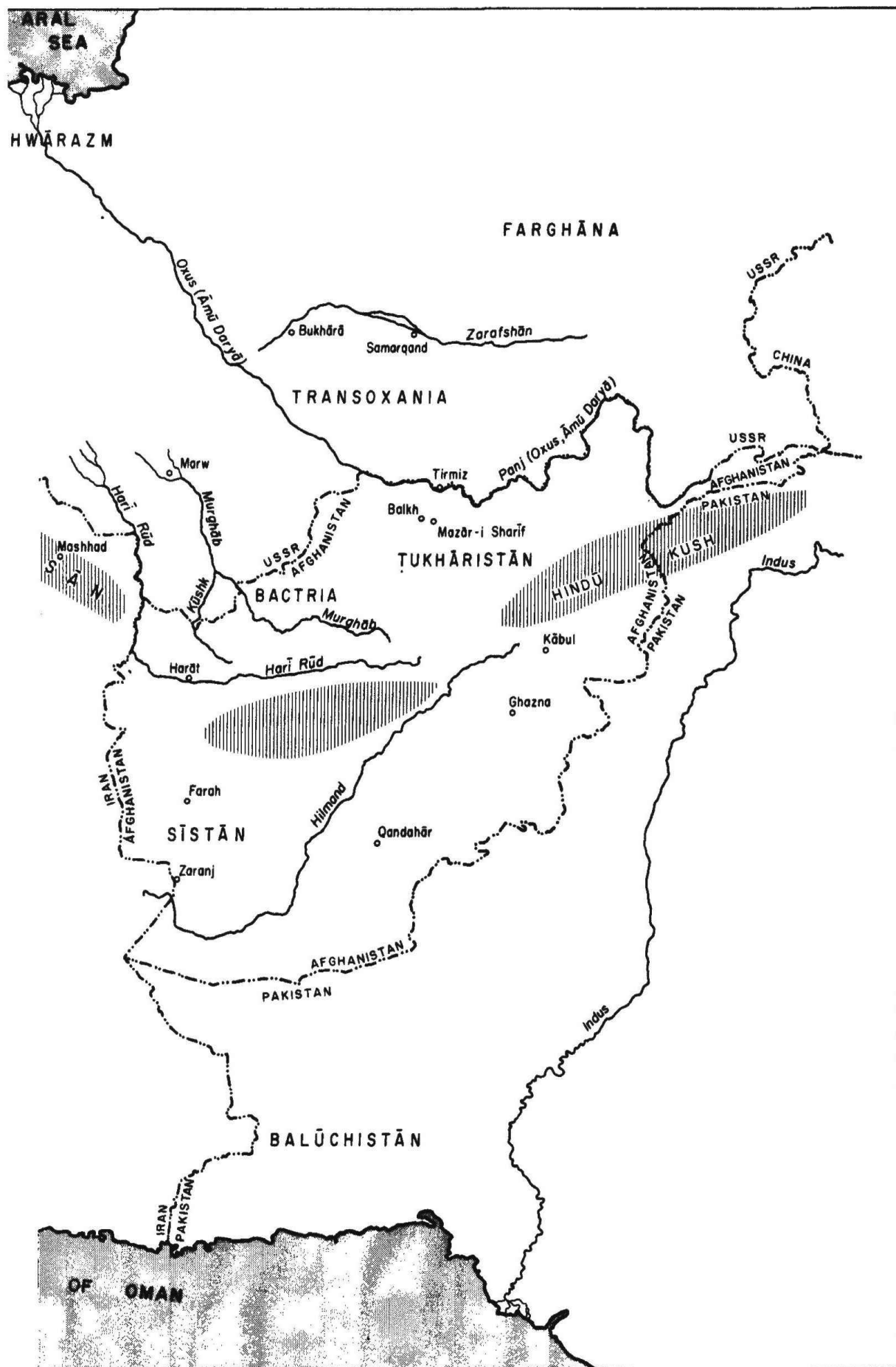
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AA	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i>
AGWG	<i>Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, phil.-hist. Kl.</i>
AI	<i>Athār-e Irān</i>
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
AMI	<i>Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran</i>
AN	<i>Akademiia Nauk</i>
ANVA	<i>Avhandlingar utgivet av Det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi, Oslo</i>
AO	<i>Acta Orientalia</i>
AOHung	<i>Acta Orientalia Hungarica</i>
AOr	<i>Archív Orientální</i>
APAW	<i>Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Kl.</i>
BGA	<i>Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum</i>
BSO[A]S	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental [and African] Studies</i>
CAJ	<i>Central Asiatic Journal</i>
EI ¹	<i>Encyclopaedia of Islam, 1st edition</i>
EI ²	<i>Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd edition</i>
EW	<i>East and West</i>
Farhang	<i>Farhang-i jughrāfiyā-yi Irān</i>
GAL	<i>C. Brockelmann, Geschichte der arabischen Literatur</i>
GIPh	<i>W. Geiger and E. Kuhn, eds., Grundriss der iranischen Philologie</i>
GJ	<i>Geographical Journal</i>
GMS	<i>Gibb Memorial Series</i>
HJAS	<i>Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies</i>
HOr	<i>Handbuch der Orientalistik</i>
IA	<i>Islām Ansiklopedisi</i>
IJ	<i>Indo-Iranian Journal</i>
IJMES	<i>International Journal of Middle East Studies</i>
IQ	<i>Islamic Quarterly</i>
Iran, JBIPS	<i>Iran, Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies</i>
Isl.	<i>Der Islam</i>
IUTAKÈ	<i>Trudy Iuzhno-Turkmenistanskoi arkheologicheskoi kompleksnoi èkspeditsii</i>

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

JA	<i>Journal Asiatique</i>
JASB	<i>Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal</i>
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JESHO	<i>Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient</i>
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
JRAS	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
JRCAS	<i>Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society</i>
JSFOu	<i>Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne</i>
JSS	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
MO	<i>Le Monde Oriental</i>
NGWG	<i>Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen</i>
NTS	<i>Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap</i>
OLZ	<i>Orientalistische Literaturzeitung</i>
OON	<i>Otdelenie obshchestvennykh nauk</i>
PRGS	<i>Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society</i>
PW	<i>Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i>
REI	<i>Revue des Études Islamiques</i>
RMM	<i>Revue du Monde Musulman</i>
SA	<i>Sovetskaia Arkheologiia</i>
SBAW Berlin	<i>Sitzungsberichte der Königlich. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin, phil.-hist. Kl.</i>
SBWAW	<i>Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Wien, phil.-hist. Kl.</i>
SB Bayr. AW	<i>Sitzungsberichte der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München, phil.-hist. Kl.</i>
Soch.	<i>V. V. Bartol'd, Sochineniia, Moscow, 1963-1977. 9 vols.</i>
SON	<i>Seriia obshchestvennykh nauk</i>
Survey of Persian Art	<i>A. U. Pope and P. A. Ackermann, eds. A Survey of Persian Art from Prehistoric Times to the Present. 6 vols. London and New York, 1938-1939.</i>
TPS	<i>Transactions of the Philological Society</i>
ZA	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie</i>
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>
ZII	<i>Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik, Leipzig</i>
ZVORAO	<i>Zapiski Vostochnogo Otdeleniia Russkogo Arkheologicheskogo Obshchestva</i>







EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

No historian of the eastern Islamic world is unfamiliar with the works of Vasilii Vladimirovich Bartol'd (1869-1930), or Wilhelm Barthold, as his name was originally rendered in the Germano-Russian milieu into which he was born. His magnum opus, the work based on his St. Petersburg doctoral thesis, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, appeared in English in the Gibb Memorial Series in 1928, and with an extra, hitherto unpublished chapter, again in 1968. The late Professor V. and Mrs. T. Minorsky performed a valuable service in 1958-1962 by translating as *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia* (in fact, five studies) Barthold's *A Short History of Turkestan*, *History of the Semirech'yé*, *Ulugh-Beg*, *Mir 'Alī Shīr*, and *A History of the Turkman People*. The lectures that Barthold gave in Turkish at Istanbul in 1926 are available in both German and French versions (*Zwölf Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Türken Mittelasiens*, 1935, and *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale*, 1945). A general work on Asian exploration and the evolution of oriental studies appeared in French in 1947, *La découverte de l'Asie, histoire de l'orientalisme en Europe et en Russie*. Various other lesser works have been translated into western languages and into Arabic, Persian, and Turkish; Barthold wrote certain of his articles in the language of his family background, German; and the large number of articles that he wrote for the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (many of them now updated and included in the new edition) are also widely available to the non-Russophone reader. But although the work of translation has gone on steadily in the half-century since Barthold's death, these works still represent only a small part of his total oeuvre, extending over some forty years; the *Collected Works (Sochineniia)* that appeared at Moscow between 1963 and 1977 (comprising ten parts in nine volumes) amount to over 7,000 large pages.

The stature of the man emerges from these bare statistics and the recounting of titles. The lands of eastern Islam, from Iran to Afghanistan and Central Asia, were Barthold's particular sphere of interest, and above all the latter, for the Russian advance into Central Asia during the later nineteenth century opened up for Russian scholars exciting possibilities of historical and archaeolog-

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ical investigation, whereas earlier European travelers to places like Khiva, Bukhara, and Samarqand had had to contend with capricious and barbaric local potentates who hardly observed the international conventions of behavior toward accredited diplomats, let alone toward free-lance travelers and researchers, figures of suspicion at the best of times. Barthold realized early in his scholarly career at the University of St. Petersburg, where he lectured from 1896 onward, that the investigation of the history, topography, and antiquities of Central Asia offered a field similar to that opened up in the Indian subcontinent in the late eighteenth century for British scholars. Barthold made almost annual field trips to Central Asia starting in 1893, undeterred by the fact that in that first year, on a journey to Semirechye, he broke his leg and had to return to Tashkent for medical treatment. In the 1920s, he was much in demand by the various Soviet republics that had by 1924 emerged in Central Asia after the final extinguishing of nationalist and separatist aspirations there, to write local histories and accounts of the different Turkish peoples of the republics. Both in the Tsarist period and after, Barthold was insistent that Russian officials, traders, soldiers, and so on working in Central Asia should busy themselves in their spare time with the study of the region, recognizing how much invaluable work had been done for our knowledge of Indian geography, society, and history by successive generations of devoted British administrators and soldiers.

Central Asia has always been at the receiving end of religious, cultural, and other influences, rather than being a spontaneously creative region, and it is this receptiveness to an assortment of outside civilizations—including those of China, India, the Middle East—that makes the study of Central Asia and the interaction of these strands such a fascinating one. It does, however, make stringent demands on the scholar who would devote himself to Inner Asia, not least in the matter of linguistic equipment; hence the rarity of the multilingual Marquarts and Pelliot. Barthold's concern was more particularly Islamic Central Asia, and his skills lay chiefly in the sphere of the three great Islamic languages, Arabic, Persian, and Turkish. He was an exacting philologist, fully cognizant of the truism not always appreciated today that without philological expertise the would-be specialist in the Middle East, or for that matter, in any part of Asia, is as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal. Accompanying his *Turkestan* when it appeared in 1898-1900 was a volume of texts, most of them edited for the first time by Barthold from manuscripts bristling with linguistic problems

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and difficulties of interpretation; many of these texts, such as Gardīzī's *Zayn al-akhbār*, 'Awfī's *Jawāmi' al-ḥikāyāt*, and Isfizarī's *Rawḍāt al-jannāt*, have since been published, but here, as in so many spheres, Barthold was the pioneer.

One of those great civilizations that have profoundly affected Central Asia is the Iranian, for out of Iran such faiths as Zoroastrianism, Manicheism, Nestorian Christianity, and most recently Islam have been mediated to the Asian heartland. If only because a knowledge of Iranian civilization was a necessary adjunct to the understanding of Central Asia, Barthold was bound to be attracted to the study of Iran, a land with which Russia had already long been in intimate political, military, and commercial contact. Two of his major works, indeed, deal with it, the one translated here, and *Iran, a Historical Survey*, and both will now be available in English (a translation of the latter appeared at Bombay in about 1939).

Barthold's basic attitude to history was, as Professor Yuri Bregel has pointed out in a perceptive study that should be read in conjunction with this present Introduction,¹ that of nineteenth-century German positivist historiography, with the evolution of mankind viewed as a convergence of originally distinct human societies through the diffusion of culturally more advanced societies to the less advanced. It was in the light of this process that he viewed such diverse phenomena as religion, the growth of world empires, the development of urban life, and the spread of international trade, and that he viewed with favor the *missions civilisatrices* of the imperial powers of his time, whether Britain in India and Africa or Russia in Central Asia, Siberia, and the Caucasus. It was, indeed, Barthold's intellectual support for the Imperial Russian mission in Central Asia (one whose positive achievements were appreciated at the time by outside observers such as Schuyler and Curzon) that eventually contributed to a fuller rehabilitation of his work in post-Stalinist Soviet Russia. For although Barthold, as a Russian patriot, had stayed on in Russia after the Bolshevik Revolution, he gave no assent to Communism and regarded Marx as an unhistorical, unscientific figure whose ideas had no relevance for oriental studies; he had never become a nonperson in Soviet scholarship, but his works had been somewhat neglected or cited only selectively and misleadingly in some quarters, above all in the Central Asian Soviet Republics.

The Historical Geography of Iran is essentially an analytical and

¹ "Barthold and Modern Oriental Studies," *IJMES*, XII (1980), 385-403.

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descriptive work rather than an attempt at synthesis. Barthold was conscious of the backwardness of oriental studies in the identification and evaluation of the basic sources, compared with long-established disciplines such as classical studies and European literature and history. He held that the critical study of these basic sources was necessary before any meaningful grand syntheses could be made. Iran, with its successive great empires—those of the Achaemenids, Parthians, Sāsānids, and Muslims—its diverse faiths and its fine literary and artistic achievements, was already much more sharply focussed for the scholar than was Central Asia, but the historical geography of Iran, apart from groundwork done by such scholars as Tomaschek, had been hardly explored. As it happened, while Barthold was working on his book, two German scholars were also putting together outstanding contributions to this very subject, though from very different angles. Josef Marquart (a scholar whom Barthold felt to be to some extent a rival to himself, with their overlapping interests, and one whose wide-ranging speculations, even at times lucubrations, Barthold felt were often not sufficiently firmly grounded in reality) in his *Ērānšahr nach der Geographie des Ps. Moses Xorenac'i* (1901) gave a translation of a brief and jejune Armenian geographical work enriched by a commentary of amazing erudition; and Paul Schwarz was embarking on his *Iran in Mittelalter* (1896-1936), a patient synthesis of all the information available in the medieval Islamic geographers but without any attempt at interpretation. These works Barthold was able to draw upon substantially only for his additional notes, but his own book stands as a parallel, though completely independent achievement, and has the additional advantage of providing a successful blend of classical, medieval Islamic, and modern European information on his subject.

For sources, Barthold accordingly drew upon the results of a patient sifting by earlier Iranists of the classical—above all Greek—sources on Iran; and then, for the earlier Islamic centuries, upon the corpus of ninth- and tenth-century Arabic geographical texts collected by M. J. de Goeje in his *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* (1870-1894), supplemented by Yāqūt's *Mu'jam al-buldān*. For the period of the Saljuqs, Mongols, Tīmūrids, and so on, he had texts by authors such as Nasawī, Juwaynī, 'Abd al-Razzāq Samarqandī, and Hāfiz-i Abrū, in the exploitation of which Barthold was often a trailblazer. For the period up to the present, for which primary historical sources in Persian or Arabic become sparser, he utilized fully the many European travelers, diplomatic envoys, merchants,

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members of religious orders, and so on who traveled within Iran, being thereby able, through the citation of such recent observers as I. N. Berezin, E. G. Browne, the Hon. G. N. Curzon, and A. V. Williams Jackson, to make his survey entirely up to date. It is not surprising that Barthold is particularly full on Khurāsān and the northeastern fringes of Iran, for Russian travelers and scholars had done much valuable spadework here for him; but the breadth of his treatment of other provinces such as Fārs and Azerbaijan shows that his mastery of the source material extended to the whole of historic Iran, including Mesopotamia, that at various epochs has formed part of the empires of Iran.

The basic sources for the medieval Islamic period have not been greatly enlarged since Barthold's time. Since it was only in 1922 that A.Z.V. Togan discovered at Mashhad a manuscript of the Arab traveler Abū Dulaf al-Khazraji's second *risāla* on his travels in northern and western Iran, Barthold was not able to draw upon this, although he was of course aware of the numerous citations from this work in Yāqūt; I have therefore added the relevant references to Minorsky's 1955 edition and translation of the *risāla*. Also, Barthold naturally knew of the anonymous Persian geographical work from the late tenth century, the *Hudūd al-'ālam*, acquired by Captain A. G. Tumanskii at Bukhara in 1893, and whose text he was later to edit and to have published posthumously (1930). But in the earlier period, he was only able to quote to a limited extent from a photographic copy, so that ampler references to the English translation and monumental commentary of Minorsky (1937) have been added by Livshits.

Finally, one should mention that a Persian translation of the *Historical Geography of Iran* was published at Tehran in 1930 by Sardādwar; it is now very hard to find,² and it may be fairly claimed that the present translation will for the first time make available to western readers one of the masterworks of a giant of oriental studies.

THE translation has been made by Dr. Svat Soucek from the text of the *Istoriko-geograficheskii obzor Irana* given in Vol. VII of Barthold's *Sochineniia* (Moscow, 1971), pp. 31-225, a volume provided with a lengthy Introduction (pp. 5-28) by Dr. V. A. Livshits. Barthold's original text is liberally sprinkled with quotations from Ar-

² My colleague, Mr. Mohsen Ashtiany, tells me that it has, however, recently been reprinted in Iran.

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abic, Persian, and Turkish sources given in the original Arabic script. These also have been translated; citations from classical Greek authors have been left in the original script.

The notes are an exceedingly valuable feature of this 1971 edition, but as translated in this present work they represent a palimpsest, as it were, of different layers by different hands. Barthold's original notes, given with the 1903 original text, were brief and largely confined to the citation of oriental texts used for the work. But as was his custom with other major works, over the years Barthold accumulated, out of his own reading and in some instances his closer personal acquaintance with the actual terrain, a rich collection of further references. Facsimile examples of Barthold's notes are given by Livshits at pp. 22-26 of his Introduction. Livshits has integrated these with the notes of the original edition (leaving them, in many cases, in their terse, elliptical, notelike form), and in the present translation, these are not otherwise distinguished; anyone who wishes to disentangle the 1903 notes from the subsequent ones can easily do so from the *Sochineniia* text. Livshits has, however, vastly increased the value of the latter text by adding his own extensive annotation, comprising in the main relevant works that appeared during the years 1930-1967. In the present translation, these are marked off by angle brackets, thus: «. . .»). The final layer is that of my own notes, references to works that have either appeared since 1967 or that were published earlier but were apparently not available to Livshits in the Soviet Union. Furthermore, references to translations of texts into western European languages, for example to Yule's translation of Marco Polo and to Le Strange's one of Clavijo's *Embassy to Tamerlane*, have been given where Barthold cited only Russian translations. These additions of my own have been placed within square brackets, thus: [. . .] when they represent insertions within or additions to existing notes. Where a few notes have been inserted at fresh points in Barthold's text, these are indicated by letters, thus: a, b, c, etc. In general, however, I have sought not to overload still further an already substantial weight of annotation.

The bibliography given at the end of this book is a select one. Volume VII of the *Sochineniia* contains a bibliography of truly gargantuan dimensions (87 pages), although this also refers, it is true, to the other contents of the volume (*Iran, a Historical Survey*, some review articles and shorter articles, and some *Encyclopaedia of Islam* articles). The system that I have adopted within the body of the translation is to give the full title and bibliographical details when

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the work in question does not appear in the bibliography. The naturally very numerous Russian works cited by Barthold are usually given by short title only and without full bibliographical details. Sergei Shuiskii has assembled a bibliography of Russian works that gives the full references; this follows the main bibliography.

For measurements and distances, Barthold wisely did not attempt to reduce the figures given in his sources to a common denominator; hence one finds metric measurements side-by-side with, for example, English miles and the traditional Russian units. The reader may therefore find it useful to note that a verst is approximately a kilometer or 3,500 English feet in length, an arshin 28 inches in length, and a desiatina 2.7 acres in area.

C. E. BOSWORTH
December 1981

AN
HISTORICAL
GEOGRAPHY OF
IRAN

INTRODUCTION

THE purpose of this work is to present a brief survey of the geography of Iran, to dwell in greater detail on the sites that were at various historical periods the centers of life, and to determine, as far as possible, the degree of dependence of this life on geographical circumstances.

"Iran" as a geographical term denotes an elevated plateau, bordering on the north and northeast the basins of the Caspian and Aral seas, and on the west, south, and southeast, the basin of the Indian ocean. The country is one of the so-called interior, landlocked basins, whose characteristic peculiarities have been best described by F. Richthofen in his book on China.¹ The main difference between these basins and the ocean-drained or peripheral ones is that in the former, all the products of mechanical or chemical decomposition (through the action of water, wind, and so on) remain within the region, whereas in the latter they are carried away into the sea; in the former the accumulation of such deposits gradually effaces the unevenness of the soil and is instrumental in its leveling, whereas in the latter the deposits pile up along the coasts and further the formation of deltas and the raising of sea bottoms; the waters that pass through a country on the way to the sea erode the soil more and more, and the unevenness of the latter becomes ever more sharply pronounced. This is, then, how in closed basins the compartmentalization of the surface gradually diminishes, whereas in the peripheral ones it increases. Lack of moisture in landlocked basins, however, allows only a minor part of the country's surface to be cultivated, and this hinders a solid and lasting development of culture and civilization; for these reasons landlocked basins sharply differ from the peripheral ones not only in geography but also in history.

The Iranian plateau is one of such interior basins with an extremely dry climate.² Except in a few mountain areas, agriculture

¹ «F. Fr. von Richthofen, *China. Ergebnisse eigener Reisen und darauf gegründeter Studien* (Berlin, 1877), 1. Theil, 6-21.)»

² For the absence of change in the climate during the last millennium, cf. W. Tomaschek, "Zur historischen Topographie, II," pp. 561-62; Polybius, X, 28, 3 cited by L. S. Berg, "Ob izmeneniakh klimata v istoricheskuiu epokhu," *Zemlevedenie* (1911), book III, p. 80.

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is possible here only through irrigation; for this reason all the rivers, except for the most important ones, are divided up into irrigation canals as soon as they leave the mountains. Their remaining waters disappear in the sands. Civilization is of necessity concentrated along the fringes of the mountains that cut through the plateau. For these same reasons, the geographical borders of Iran could not coincide with the political and ethnic ones. The fact that almost the entire interior of the country is unsuitable for sedentary civilization could not but force the Iranians to settle areas neighboring the oceanic and Aralo-Caspian basins. The easternmost branch of the Iranians, the Afghans, now live chiefly in the basin of the Indus, whereas the westernmost one, the Kurds, live in that of the Tigris.³ These were the approximate limits within which lived the historical Iranians,⁴ as a result of which F. Spiegel, the author of a voluminous (now already somewhat dated) work on Iran, considered it possible to give his book the following title: *Érân, das Land zwischen dem Indus und Tigris*.

In the ethnic sense, the term "Iranians," as is well known, denotes that branch of the Aryans who are closely related to those of India. The oldest monuments of Indian and Iranian literatures are linguistically so similar that an attempt has even been made to reconstruct, in general terms, the language spoken by the proto-historical common ancestors of the Iranians and Indians. H. Oldenberg in his book *Aus Indien und Iran* remarks that "we can trace down to individual details the processes through which that language, not a single word of which has been preserved by history, developed to the southeast of the Hindu Kush into the dialect of the Vedas, and to the southwest of these same mountains into that of the Avesta."⁵ Of the two branches of the Asian Aryans—the Indians and Iranians—the Indians received their ethnic characteristics, it would seem, only in the country on that side of the Hindu Kush: there are no traces of Indians inhabiting the area to the north of these mountains. On the other hand, the Iranians, in the opinion of today's scholars, had at one time occupied a considerable portion of southern Russia and all of Turkestan, both western, present-day Russian, Turkestan and eastern Turkestan, that is, the Tarim

³ «For the present-day limits of the spread of the Iranian languages, see Oranskii, *Vvedenie*, p. 288.»

⁴ In the *Kutāb al-Fihrist*, ed. G. Flügel, I, 18², Sughd was called *Īrān al-A'lā*, "Upper Iran"; see Ross-Gauthiot, "De l'alphabet soghdien," *JA*, ser. 10, vol. XVII (1911), 532.

⁵ «H. Oldenberg, *Aus Indien und Iran* (Berlin, 1899), pp. 137-38.»

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basin. The languages spoken in this entire area already had the characteristic features of the Iranian idiom, not those of the proto-historical Indo-Iranian tongue. Both this fact and the few historical data available to us—the latter partly set out in F. A. Braun's magisterial dissertation *Razyskaniia v oblasti goto-slavianskikh otnoshenii* ["Researches in the Field of Gotho-Slavic Relations"]⁶—make us suppose that the movement of the Iranians, after their separation from the Indians, proceeded from east to west rather than vice versa; the Iranians migrated into present-day Persia, most probably, also from the east,⁷ and prior to their irruption there they reached a certain degree of cultural development in regions included today within the borders of Afghanistan. Here, in the basin of the Āmū Daryā and of other rivers that flow from the high mountain ranges that constitute that eastern limit of the Iranian plateau, the conditions of irrigation are somewhat more propitious than in the western part of Iran, for the high snow-clad mountain crests give rise to vigorous rivers. The traveler Ferrier, who in the years 1845-1846 crossed Persia and Afghanistan, states that through the area from Kermanshah, the principal town of Persian Kurdistan, to the Harī Rūd river, which represents the border of Persia and Afghanistan, he had to cross only brooks (*ruisseaux*); the Harī Rūd was the first river "à laquelle on puisse donner le nom de rivière."⁸ According to Ferrier again, the Hilmand is the only water course in the entire area from the Tigris to the Indus that deserves the appellation of a full-fledged river (*fleuve*).⁹

⁶ F. A. Braun, *Razyskaniia v oblasti goto-slavianskikh otnoshenii. I. Goty i ikh sosedi do V veka. Pervyi period: Goty na Visle* (Saint Petersburg, 1899), pp. 77, 90, 96 (*Sbornik ORIAS* = *Otdelenie russkogo iazyka i slovesnosti Imp. Akademii nauk*, vol. XIV, no. 12).

⁷ «For the possible routes of the movement of Iranian tribes into the territory of the Iranian plateau, see R. Ghirshman, *L'Iran des origines à l'Islam* (Paris, 1951), pp. 58 ff.; I. D'iakonov, *Istoriia Mīdu*, pp. 124-125, 1249-50; E. A. Grantovskii, "Drevneiranskoe etnicheskoe nazvanie "Parsava-Parsa," in *Kratkie soobshchennia Instituta narodov Azii AN SSSR*, fasc. XXX (1961), pp. 3-19; V. I. Abaev, *Shifo-evropeiskie izoglosy na styke Vostoka i Zapada* (Moscow, 1961), pp. 122-24; M. Mayrhofer, *Die Indo-Arier im alten Vorderasien (mit einer analytischen Bibliographie)* (Wiesbaden, 1966); V. M. Masson, *Srednuaia Azia i Drevnii Vostok* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1964), pp. 395-449.»

⁸ *Voyages*, I, 269.

⁹ For the link between the lack of water and the absence of snow-clad mountains, see letter from A. D. Kalmykov.

CHAPTER I

Bactria, Balkh, and Tūkhāristān

THE earliest center of Iranian culture known to us, perhaps even the earliest center of Iranian governmental structure, was Baktra, modern Balkh, south of the Āmū Daryā.¹ This primeval civilization was doubtless at a much lower level than the civilization of the peoples living at that time around the Mediterranean sea and in the Euphrates-Tigris basin. Even later, when the eastern part of Iran entered into the framework of the Achaemenid empire founded by the Persians, the customs and habits of the Bactrians and Soghdians were sharply distinct from those of the inhabitants of the western half of the kingdom; according to Strabo, the Soghdians and Bactrians in antiquity, that is (judging by the context) until the time of Alexander the Great, differed little in their way of life and customs from the nomads: τὸ μὲν ὦν παλαιὸν οὐ πολὺ διέφερον τοῖς βίοις καὶ τοῖς ἥρεσι τῶν Νομάδων οἱ τε Σογδιανοὶ καὶ οἱ Βακτριανοί (Strabo, XI, 11).²

Due to the absence of any trustworthy testimony, we cannot decide whether relations with the Near East, that is, with Assyria and Babylonia, or with the Indian Aryans had any influence on the civilization of the Soghdians and Bactrians. Traditions about the campaigns of the Assyrians in Central Asia are not borne out by Assyrian inscriptions, which never mention such distant expeditions. There probably were commercial relations, but even about those we can only make conjectures.³ These conjectures can be made on the basis of the time of the appearance in the West,

¹ The idea of a Bactrian kingdom is doubtful; a Βάκτριον ἔθνος is mentioned by Herodotus, I, 153. «Information about the existence of a pre-Achaemenid state on the territory of Bactria goes back to Ktesias; in recent years there have been attempts to compare it with achaeological data. See J. von Prášek, *Geschichte der Meder und Perser bis zur makedonischen Eroberung* (Gotha, 1906-1910), I, 50-54; M. D'iakonov, "Slozhenie klassovogo obshchestva"; V. Masson, "Problema drevnei Baktrii"; Frye, *Heritage*, p. 39; *Istoriia tadzhikskogo naroda*, I, 154-59, 510-11; Masson-Romodina, *Istoriia Afganistana*, I, 47-50; P'iankov, *Vostochnye satrapii*, pp. 9-10.»

² «"In early times the Sogdians and Bactrians did not differ much from the nomads in their modes of life and customs." *The Geography of Strabo*, with an English translation by H. L. Jones (London, 1966-1970), V, 281.»

³ «Cf. I. D'iakonov, "Assiro-vavilonskie istochniki," p. 356.»

especially in the ruins of ancient towns, of Central Asian minerals, plants, and animals; for example, we find the Bactrian (two-humped) camel depicted on the obelisk of the Assyrian king Shalmaneser II erected in 842 B.C.; two-humped camels⁴ are mentioned here as part of the tribute sent by one of the rulers of what later became Armenia;⁵ certain scholars (such as Hommel) even point out the similarity of the headdress of the camel drivers to that of the Kazakhs.⁶ Central Asia, moreover, is considered to be the original home of the horse. Horses are not depicted on Egyptian monuments of the first fourteen dynasties; they appear only from the time of the Hyksos invasion, which probably goes back to the third millennium B.C. (a more precise establishment of the chronology of Egyptian dynasties is still a matter of debate).⁷ From among the minerals, one can point to lapis lazuli, which beyond doubt was mined in Central Asia; according to G. Maspero, lapis lazuli was already among the objects obtained from Central Asia by the pharaohs of the XII dynasty.⁸ From lapis lazuli was made the blue color for decoration that we find on the walls of the palace of the Assyrian king Ashshurnasirpal, who reigned in the first half of the ninth century B.C.⁹

⁴ In Greek terminology, "Bactrian" in contrast to "Arab" camels: P. Bolchert, *Aristoteles' Erdkunde von Asien und Libyen* (Berlin, 1908), p. 20. Cf. the Persian expression *shutur-i bakhti*.

⁵ «The term designating the two-humped camels (Akkadian *udru*) becomes common in Assyrian sources from the time of Tiglatpileser III (745-727 B.C.); this allows us to date the establishment of close relations of the Near Eastern countries with the tribes of eastern Media (and through the intermediary of the Medes with Eastern Iran) to the eighth century B.C. Cf. W. Eilers, "Der Name Demawend," *AOr*, XXII (1954), 329; I. B. Iankovskaia, "Nekotorye voprosy ekonomiki assiriiskoi derzhavy," *Vestnik Drevnei Istorii* (Moscow), pp. 39-40; I. D'iakonov, *Istoriia Midu*, p. 192.) [The two-humped camel is in fact depicted on a Mesopotamian cylinder seal of 1800-1400 B.C., and a rations list from Alalakh in northern Syria (eighteenth century B.C.) records fodder for camels; also, the *udru* appears in Assyrian usage as early as the reign of Assurbelkala (1074-1057 B.C.), who bought two-humped camels from merchants trading with the East. See the references in R. W. Bulliet, *The Camel and the Wheel* (Cambridge, Mass., 1975), pp. 36, 62-64, 156-60.]

⁶ F. Hommel, *Die Namen der Säugethiere bei den südsemitschen Völkern* (Leipzig, 1879), p. 218 n. 3. [Barthold's text has here "Kirghiz," but he normally means by this term "Kazakh," following the Russian and East European usage of the term "Kirghiz-Kazakh" to distinguish the Turkish Kazakhs of Central Asia from the Slavic ones or Cossacks; see V. Barthold and G. Hazai, *ET*², art. "Kazak," and *idem*, "Kirgiz."]

⁷ «For the horse in the Near East and the time of its appearance in Egypt, see I. D'iakonov, *Istoriia Midii*, pp. 122-25.»

⁸ *Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'Orient classique* (Paris, 1895-1899), I, 470.

⁹ F. Justi, *Geschichte der orientalischen Völker im Altertum* (Berlin, 1884), p. 264.

Also controversial is the question of whether there are traces of the influence of more civilized nations in the teachings of Zoroaster, teachings that became the national religion of the Iranians. The person of Zoroaster,¹⁰ as well as that of the founders of other religions, later became the subject of fantastic legends; nonetheless, the oldest elements of the Avesta, whose genuineness is proved by linguistic evidence,¹¹ give us, according to H. Oldenberg, a possibility of forming a general idea about the identity and teachings of the prophet.

Oldenberg considers as historical not only Zoroaster but also the Bactrian king Vishtaspa¹² addressed by the prophet; mentioned

¹⁰ Uncertainty of the name Zoroaster; cf. the article by A. Hoffmann-Kutschke, "Nachtrag zu «Persische Eigennamen»," *OLZ*, IX (1906), no. 11, 604; Zohrovastra; according to F. C. Andreas and J. Wackernagel, *Die vierte Gāthā des Zurasthro*, in *NGWG*, 1911: Zurasthro.

¹¹ Linguistic reasons given by P. Tedesco ("Ostiranische Nominalflexion," *ZII*, IV [1926], 129): in Soghdian, Saka, and Afghan there are traces of transition *-ah and *-āh to -i and -ē, whereas in Avestan instead of that there is -ō and -ā (that is, -o and -ō); for him there remains only the northwest, because in the southwest there are -a and -ā; "this kind of localization of the Avestan language is supported by a number of other characteristics" (cf. Tedesco, "Dialektologie der westiranischen Turfantexte," *MO*, XV (1921), "Dialektologische Zusammenfassung η," pp. 255-57).

¹² For Zoroaster, see A.V.W. Jackson, *Zoroaster the Prophet of Ancient Iran* (New York, 1899), as well as his article, "Die iranische Religion," in *GIPh*, II, 612-708. Cf. C. Bartholomae's opinion about Zoroaster as the actual author of the Gathas (*Die Gatha's des Awesta. Zarathuschtra's Vorphredigten* [Strassburg, 1905]; *Altiranisches Wörterbuch* [Strassburg, 1904], p. 1,675). For Zoroaster and Gistaspa, see Barthold, "K istorii persidskogo eposa," *Soch.* VII, 390. For questions concerning the country of Airan-Vej (J. Marquart's opinion: *Ērānšahr nach der Geographie des Ps. Moses Xorenac'i*, in *AGWG*, III/2 [Berlin, 1901], 155, and Nöldeke's objections, *ZDMG*, LVI [1902], 434 ff.), see K. A. Inostrantsev, "O do-musul'manskoi kul'ture," pp. 312-16, and his "Reka Īrān-Vādzha." (Barthold, *EP*, art. "Khwarizm," *Soch.* III, 544; E. Benveniste, "L'Ērān-Vēž et l'origine légendaire des Iraniens," *BSOS*, VII (1934), 266-71; E. Herzfeld, *Zoroaster and His World* (Princeton, 1947), II, 688-703.) Hostile attitude of Zoroaster toward Karpan and Kavay; their condemnation to death: *Yasna*, V, 15 (Bartholomae, *Die Gatha's*, p. 31). For Bartholomae, Vishtaspa is an "eastern Iranian prince." Cf. Oldenberg's opinion (*Aus Indien und Iran. Gesammelte Aufsätze* (Berlin, 1899), p. 143: "das östliche Iran, etwa die Landschaft Baktra «der vornehmste oder ein vornehmster Schauplatz des alten Zarathustrismus gewesen ist»), and p. 147 about the "realm" of Vishtaspa: "dies Bauernkönigthum ist dem Ort nach und wie ich meine auch der Zeit nach von der Welt der Achämeniden weit entfernt." Marquart's arguments in favor of an influence of events of the life of Vologas I (A.D. 52-77) on the legend about Vishtasp especially "Beiträge zur Geschichte und Sage von Ērān," *ZDMG*, XLIX (1895), 635 ff.; cf. Strabo, XI, 9, 3, after Poseidonios, concerning the council of the nobility among the Parthians. Under Vologas I, there were for the first time Pahlavi inscriptions together with the

along with Vishtaspa is Queen Khutaosa and two associates of the king.¹³ This king is by no means surrounded by pomp comparable to that which later surrounded the Achaemenids, and appears not as the head of a military state but as the representative of a people who are agriculturists and cattle breeders. Zoroaster deals with him and his kinsfolk as with his own friends, patrons, and protectors of his doctrine. As is known, the basic teaching of this doctrine was the existence of two principles, good and evil; a struggle goes on between them, struggle in which both humans and animals take part. Such a doctrine developed quite naturally in places with a sharp contrast between lifeless desert and blossoming oases, areas where man had to strive to use every drop of water for irrigation of his fields, where successes won by civilization needed constant protection both from the sands of the desert and from "the steppe horsemen who kill men, drive away the cattle and lead into captivity women and children," as one of the hymns says. On the other hand, work is richly rewarded: wherever the industrious agriculturist is protected from plunder by the nomads he has almost no reason to fear adverse weather conditions. This is why the evolution of the primeval Aryan cult of nature acquired here a totally different character from that in India. As Oldenberg points out, "in the land of Zoroaster there were no philosophers, no deep metaphysical thought, no desire to escape the woes of this world. There was, however, a vigorous people, filled with a healthy joy of life, accustomed to build and to defend its existence in work and battle." Naturally, the concept of good and its struggle with evil in the absence of "deep metaphysical thought" could not have that ele-

Greek ones on coins (A. von Gutschmid, *Geschichte Irans und seiner Nachbarländer von Alexander dem Grossen bis zum Untergang der Arsaciden* [Tübingen, 1888] p. 125). According to C. P. Tiele, *Geschichte der Religionen im Altertum bis auf Alexander den Grossen* (Gotha, 1896-1903), II, 106, Vishtaspa was a "König . . . nur im Reich des Geistes, *magahya khsathra*"; *kava*, in the strict sense of the word, meant only "seer, wise man"; according to Bartholomae's dictionary (*Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, p. 442) it was a "Bezeichnung der Fürsten."

¹³ «For Zoroaster, his name, the place and time of his preaching, as well as for linguistic data concerning the localization of the Avesta, see: W. B. Henning, "The Disintegration of the Avestic Studies," *TPS* (1942), pp. 40-56; *idem*, *Zoroaster, Politician or Witch-doctor?* (London, 1951); I. D'iakonov, *Istoriia Mīdu*, pp. 45-56, 371-403; J. Duchesne-Guillemin, *The Western Response to Zoroaster* (Oxford, 1958); *idem*, *La religion de l'Iran ancien* (Paris, 1962), pp. 135-46, 165-223, 384-99; M. D'iakonov, *Ocherk*, pp. 58-65, 343-45, 360-63; *Istoriia tadzhikskogo naroda*, I, 137-39, 150-54, 168-76, 504, 510, 512-14, as well as the bibliographies to these works.» [M. Boyce, *A History of Zoroastrianism, Handbuch der Orientalistik* (Leiden, 1975); *idem*, *Zoroastrians, their Religious Beliefs and Practices* (London, 1979).]

vated character which it acquired later. For the worshipers of Zoroaster good is identical with usefulness, evil with harm, while no distinction is made between work for the common good and striving for personal comfort. Good is served by him who has a wife and children, works the field, guards his livestock and other possessions, as well as by him who builds roads and bridges or exterminates harmful animals. Struggle against evil and those who are evil is also understood in the literal sense, in contrast to the Christian doctrine of nonresistance to evil and love of enemies; according to the Avesta, he who does good to evil is himself evil, while he who harms it with thought or act is applauded by Ormuzd. Struggle between good and evil also takes place in the animal kingdom. The representatives of good are the dog, which is, as is known, especially glorified in the Avesta; the rooster, which announces the arrival of the day and summons people to rise, to glorify good, and to struggle against evil; and other useful animals. The representatives of evil—creatures of the evil Ahriman—are snakes, ants, mice, wolves, and so on. Extermination of harmful animals represents one of the obligations of the faithful. For the struggle against evil and purification from it man must also perform, in addition to such practical activities, a number of superstitious rituals.

Good and evil are personified by the supreme deities Ormuzd (more exactly Ahuramazda), the radiant god of heaven, and Ahriman (Angramainyush), the spirit of darkness and death, creator and protector of everything harmful, of all miseries, sufferings, and defects. The existence of good, luminous spirits on the one hand, and of evil, dark spirits on the other, is also recognized in primeval nature cults. In one passage of the *Iliad* the Lord of the Underworld is called Ζεὺς καταχθόνιος (IX, 457); this dualism appears even more sharply in the story about the sacrifice during the agreement under oath between the Greeks and the Trojans before the duel between Menelaus and Paris; a white sheep is brought in honor of the sun and a black one in honor of the earth (III, 103-104). However, in the primeval religion of the Aryans in both India and Greece there was not yet an identification of light with good and of darkness with evil. Even to luminous deities are ascribed selfish, sometimes lowly aspirations; the concept itself of the "envy of the gods" shows that even a human with a clear conscience had to experience, before the gods, a feeling of fear above all. The development of the concept of morality was bound to provoke a negative attitude toward such deities. Just as for a Buddhist a human who has reached holiness stands above the gods of the Indian

pantheon, so also in the Avesta the word *daēva* (*dīw* in New Persian), which is identical with Sanskrit *deva*, where it denotes "god," serves only to designate the evil spirits. Among the luminous deities, Ormuzd, creator of the heaven and the earth, appears only as the first among the seven "holy immortals" (*amesha spenta*), although in the most ancient hymns the latter appear as personifications of separate attributes of God rather than as independent deities. Here belongs also Asha, a concept that corresponds to the Sanskrit *rita* and that appears to be a personification of the world order, the strengthening and spreading of which constitutes the goal of the struggle between good and evil. Aside from that, the teaching of Zoroaster did not suppress the cult of certain ancient Iranian deities such as Mithra, god of the sun, and Tishtiria, the rain god, who fights against the demon of drought.

We have no information as to when and from where the Aryans came to Bactria and founded the town of Baktra (later called Balkh). The choice of the place was determined by the unusual fertility of the oasis created by the river Baktros (now Balkh Āb) at its exit from the mountains; its fertility surpasses that of all the other oases in the area. When it became the principal town of this area, Baktra,¹⁴ exactly like Balkh later, became the center of trade with India, although some other oases are linked with the Indus basin through more convenient routes; contacts between Balkh and India, as we shall see below, took place primarily along the valley of the Khulm and not of the Balkh Āb. All the rivers that flow out of the northern spurs of Hindū Kush set out in the direction of the Āmū Daryā, but only a few reach it. The Balkh Āb does not reach it, either; even at the time of the Arab geographers it disappeared in the sands. If we can believe classical authors, the Baktros did at that time reach the Āmū Daryā, and even served for the transportation of Indian goods; this information, however, like other reports of classical authors about local rivers, is doubtful in the extreme. According to Ammianus Marcellinus (XXIII, 6, 69), ships from as far away as Harāt (Herat) could reach the Caspian sea. It is hardly likely that conditions of irrigation could have changed so radically in the course of the 1,000 years that separated the Greek geographers from the Arab ones, while they changed so little during the following 1,000 years that separate the Arab geographers from

¹⁴ Bāxtriš in ancient Persian inscriptions (a third-century A.D. Syriac inscription still has the form *bḥtrt*, "Bactrian women"), Bāxdiš in the Avesta (a reconstruction; cf. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, p. 88).

us. Most probably, merchandise was brought to Baktra only by caravans and not on waterways. The political and commercial significance of Balkh may also have been enhanced by its position in the center of the eastern Iranian world. The ninth-century geographer Ya'qūbī asserts—though not quite correctly—that Balkh was situated at an equal distance from Farghāna, Ray, Sīstān, Kābul, Qandahār, Kashmīr, Khwārazm, and Multān.¹⁵

We do not have a detailed description of the town of Baktra; we only know that it was situated in a plain where the river leaves the mountains, at a distance of three days' march south of the Āmū Daryā, and that the citadel stood on an elevation.¹⁶

Much more detailed data are provided by Arab geographers, according to whom the distance between Balkh and the bank of the Āmū Daryā could be covered in two days. This distance is defined as two farsakhs, a measure that existed in Persia in remote antiquity, but whose dimension was not clearly determined; a comparison of the distances indicated by the Arab geographers with the modern ones makes one conclude that, in their time, a farsakh most often corresponded to six versts [that is, four miles].¹⁷

The town was situated in a plain at a distance of four farsakhs from the nearest mountains.¹⁸ A citadel (*quhandiz*) is not yet mentioned in this period.¹⁹ As in the case of other large towns such as

¹⁵ *Kutāb al-Buldān*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1891), pp. 287-88.

¹⁶ W. Tomaschek, *PW*, art. "Baktra," p. 2,804. «For excavations of the city of Baktra—now an archaeological site in the Mazār-i Sharīf province—see: D. Schlumberger, "La prospection archéologique de Bactres," *Syria*, XXVI (1949), 173-90; J.-C. Gardin, *Céramiques de Bactres* (Paris, 1957); R. S. Young, "The South Walls of Balkh-Baktra," *AJA*, LIX (1955), 267-76; A.M. Mandel'shtam, "O nekotorykh rezul'tatakh," pp. 415-24; Masson-Romodina, I, 73-74, 122-23, 169.» [A. S. Melikan-Chirvani, "L'Évocation littéraire du Bouddhisme dans l'Iran musulman," *Le monde iranien et l'Islam* II (1974), 1-72; *ibid.*, "Recherches sur l'architecture de l'Iran bouddhique, I," *Le monde iranien et l'Islam*, III (1975), 1-61, and the bibliography in both articles. And especially for Khorasan, but relevant here: J. Aubin, "Réseau pastoral et réseau caravanier. Les grandes routes du Khurasan à l'époque mongole," *Le monde iranien et l'Islam*, I (1971), 105-30; and in general this periodical for Iran.]

¹⁷ «Cf. *Soch.* III, 119, n. 81.»

¹⁸ Balkh was rebuilt by the Arabs in 107/725-726, cf. below, p. 20.

¹⁹ For the existence of the *quhandiz*-i Balkh, see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, ed. F. Wustenfeld (Leipzig, 1866-1873), s.v. "Quhandiz." The term *ark*: ref. in Vullers' *Lexicon Persico-Latinum*, s.v., to the dictionary *Burhān-i qāṭi* (1062/1652) about the *ark* as "center of the *qal'a*" and to Mīrkhwānd about the *ark* as a city in Sīstān. Iṣṭakhṛī, *Kutāb al-Masālik wa'l-mamālik*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1870), p. 241, about the *ark* in his description of Zaranj: "a very large building called *ark* [= citadel], it served as a treasure house; 'Amr b. al-Layth had built it." Also Ibn Ḥawqal, *Kutāb Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1870), p. 298. In Yāqūt,

Samarqand and Bukhārā, the entire Balkh oasis was at one time surrounded by long walls for protection from nomads; the length of the walls in each case—Balkh among them—is indicated as twelve farsakhs in circumference.²⁰ At the time of the Arab domination, these walls did not exist any more, and the settled area was divided, like other large towns, into the town itself, the *madīna* (Persian *shahristān*), and the suburb, *rabad*; the Persian term *bīrūn* is not used by the geographers.²¹ In all large towns, the inner part, the *shahristān*, was surrounded by a special wall; *rabad* was the term applied to the area between this wall and the outer wall of the town. The word *rabad* itself originally seemed to denote this outer wall, and was often used in this denotation. The few data we have concerning the history of the individual cities, especially the relatively detailed information of Narshakhī, a tenth-century author, about the topography of Bukhārā, show that the *shahristān* was the earliest part, having originated at the time of the exclusive domination of the landed aristocracy, while the representatives of the merchant and artisan classes lived in the *rabad*, where the markets were also concentrated. As the landed aristocracy declined and the merchant-artisan class rose, life shifted more and more from the *shahristān* to the *rabad*.

Arab geographers give us less detailed and precise information about Balkh than about Bukhārā and Samarqand. The dimensions of the city itself in terms of farsakhs are reported variously, and the number of gates varies as well: according to Ya'qūbī, there were four gates of the *rabad*; according to the tenth-century geographers, seven. Analogy with other large towns makes one assume that despite Ya'qūbī, the former number, four, should be applied not to the gates of the *rabad* but to those of the *shahristān*. The names of the gates are mentioned. Among these was the "gates of the Indians" (*bāb-i Hindūwān*) and the "gate of the Jews" (*bāb-i Yahūdān*);²² clearly these appellations point to quarters inhabited by Indian and Jewish merchants. Even now, despite the total decline

Mu'jam, I, 210, s.v. "Ark," the following passage is added: "then it became the seat of the government and a fortress, and it is now called by this name." (See also Barthold, "Persidskoe ark," *Soch.* VII, 413 ff.)

²⁰ Ya'qūbī, *Kutāb al-Buldān*, p. 288.

²¹ Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion* (London, 1978), p. 78.

²² Report about seven gates in Maqdisī, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1877), p. 302; and about the *rabad* after manuscript C. Iṣṭakhri, p. 278, names seven gates; the area is half a farsakh long and wide. Cf. Barthold, *Turkestan* (Eng. tr.), p. 78; among the gates is the *bāb al-Nawbahār*.

of the commercial importance of Balkh, there is a considerable Jewish colony in the town, located in a special quarter; there are also Indian shopkeepers.²³ The houses were built, as in all towns of Persia and Central Asia, of clay; the bazaars were located, according to the Arab geographers, primarily in the *shahristān*. On the other hand, the anonymous tenth-century Persian geographer, the manuscript of whose work was discovered in Bukhārā, giving very detailed information about Central Asia, states that many bazaars were located in the *rabad*.²⁴

Among the buildings of the town, there is mentioned, besides the Friday mosque, a construction from pre-Islamic times, the Nawbahār. In the tenth century, this building was already in ruins. The Persian geographer says that it had been built by ancient Persian kings,²⁵ but Arab geographers are more correct in their statement that Nawbahār had been a temple of people of the same faith as Chinese emperors and the shāh of Kābul, that is, Buddhists (Nawbahār = *nava vihāra*). Ibn al-Faqīh gives a similar although somewhat fantastic description of the temple.²⁶ According to this description, the structure consisted of a dome whose radius was one hundred ells in length, encircled by a round portico; the building was surrounded by three hundred cells for temple servants, and each of these performed his duty only once a year. The temple already existed in the seventh century and was described by the Buddhist pilgrim Hsüan-tsang; in the notes of this traveler, the temple was situated southeast of the town,²⁷ whereas in his biography it is mentioned as having been situated southwest of it.²⁸ Arab geographers only say that the temple was in the *rabad* ²⁹ and

²³ C. E. Yate, *Northern Afghanistan or Letters from the Afghan Boundary Commission* (Edinburgh and London, 1888), p. 256.

²⁴ «*Hudūd al-'ālam*, fol. 21a. Cf. Vavilov-Bukinich, *Zemledel'cheskii Afghanistan*, p. 504.»

²⁵ «*Hudūd al-'ālam*, fol. 21a, where there is mention of Khusrawān. Cf. Barthold, "Die persische Šu'ūbīja und die moderne Wissenschaft," *ZA*, XXVI (1912), 249-66, *Soch.* VII, 367 n. 41, and *Hudūd al-'ālam*, tr. V. Minorsky (London, 1937), pp. 108, 337.»

²⁶ Ibn al-Faqīh, *Mukhtaṣar Kitāb al-Buldān*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1885), pp. 322-24; tr., pp. 382-85.

²⁷ Hsüan-tsang, *Mémoires sur les contrées occidentales*, tr. S. Julien (Paris, 1857-1858), I, 30.

²⁸ *Histoire de la vie de Hiouen-thsang*, tr. S. Julien (Paris, 1863), p. 64.

²⁹ Cf. Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh al-rusul wa 'l-mulūk* (Leiden, 1879-1901), II, 1490: "between the city and Nawbahār [the distance] is two *ghalwas*." For *ghalwa* see Ibn Rusta, *al-A'lāq al-naḥṣa*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1892), p. 22 (one twenty-fourth of a farsakh, a little over a quarter of a kilometer; a *ghalwa* is 500 *dhirā's*).

that the river of the Balkh Āb³⁰ had its course past the gate of Nawbahār, most probably entering the city.³¹ This supposition is supported by the seventeenth-century Bukhāran historian Maḥmūd b. Walī, who states that the gate of Nawbahār was situated on the southern side of the town, and that in his time it was called the gate of Khwāja Sultān Aḥmad.³² From the Chinese description, one can see that in the temple there were several Buddhist sanctuaries; to the north of it there was a stupa, that is, a structure for the keeping of holy relics, two hundred feet high; to the southwest there was yet another temple, considered to be very ancient. All in all, in Hsüan-tsang's time there were in Balkh up to one hundred Buddhist monasteries and up to three thousand monks.³³

Thus the city in which the teachings of Zoroaster had first been accepted became one of the principal centers of Buddhism. This fact can be explained through historical events, which after the destruction of the Achaemenid kingdom by Alexander the Great separated Bactria from the rest of Iran and established a close link between it and India.³⁴

The Graeco-Bactrian kingdom extended westward to the Hari Rūd, which even today serves for a considerable part of its course as the border between Persia and Afghanistan, and further downstream between Persia and Russia. In the southeast, the Graeco-Bactrian kings subjugated the area beyond the Hindū Kush, which at that time was considered part of India; just as the area along the upper Hilmand, a region whose chief city today is Qandahār, was sometimes also considered part of India. This region was known to classical authors by the name of Arachosia (Harakhushti in the Avesta);³⁴ in Isidore of Charax's description of the Parthian prov-

³⁰ Cf. *Dahās* "ten mills" (name of the Balkh river in Iṣṭakhrī, p. 278, and Ibn Ḥawqal, p. 326).

³¹ Iṣṭakhrī, p. 278: "it flows through its *rabad* by the Nawbahār gate"; Ibn Ḥawqal, p. 326: "passing by the Nawbahār gate."

³² *Bahr al-asrār*, ms. India Office Library 1496, fol. 317a.

* On Buddhism in these eastern fringes of the Iranian world, see A. S. Melikian-Chirvani, "L'évocation littéraire du bouddhisme dans l'Iran musulman," *Le monde iranien et l'Islam*, II (1974), 1-72, and *idem*, "Recherches sur l'architecture de l'Iran bouddhique. I. Essai sur les origines et le symbolisme du stūpa iranien," *ibid.*, III (1975), 1-61.

³³ The Greeks in Bactria; Aristobulos concerning the route by water. Stasanor of Cyprus; story about the events of 315. The campaign of Demodamas between 312 and 306. The uprising of Diodotos in the reign of Antiochos II (261-246 B.C.). Euthydemus of Magnesia.

³⁴ «The Avestan form of the name of the region was *Haraxvaiti*-. the early Persian form was *Harahuaiti*-.»

inces, Arachosia is called "White India." The peak of the Graeco-Bactrian state's might was in the first quarter of the second century B.C. Euthydemus and his son Dimitrios subjugated the regions along the Indus all the way to the sea, and in the northeast they seized mountainous regions up to the domains of the Serai, that is, the Chinese, and of the Fauns, in whom Gutschmid sees one of the Tibetan peoples;³⁵ Tomaschek, seemingly with considerable justification, considers them to be Huns, the Hsiung-nu of the Chinese chronicles.³⁶ Gutschmid assumes that the purpose of these campaigns was to establish regular commercial relations with China, which is hardly plausible, since the Chinese had no information about the "western region" before the embassy of Chang Ch'ien.³⁷

For an evaluation of the cultural significance of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom, more basic archaeological and linguistic research is still necessary; linguistic research should make it possible to determine which cultural terms in oriental languages were borrowed from Greek, and would thus indicate Greek influence. The influence of Greek art must have been especially strong, and indeed, little Greek heads adorn the small earthen coffins in which the Zoroastrians kept the bones of the dead after their separation from the flesh; the numerous terra-cotta statuettes, found mostly in the environs of Samarqand, point equally clearly to the influence of Greek art. Its traces are also noted by historians of Indian art, especially of sculpture. The well-known sinologist F. Hirth sees signs of the influence of Bactrian art even in ancient specimens of Chinese art that go back to the second century B.C.; this connection, however, is rejected by another sinologist, E. Chavannes. As for linguistic evidence, there is the opinion that the Chinese word *pu-tao*, "grape," is the Greek word *βότρυς* (according to Hirth); in that case wine making was brought to Central Asia by the Greeks, and that was where the Chinese became acquainted with it.³⁸ On the other hand, the Greeks too must have been influenced by oriental cultural elements, especially by oriental religions, and in particular Buddhism, the propaganda of which began in the third century B.C., at the time of King Aśoka. Already in the first half of the second century we find the picture of a Buddhist stupa on the coin of Agathocles, the Greek ruler of Arachosia; at the end

³⁵ *Geschichte Irans*, p. 45.

³⁶ *Zur historischen Topographie von Persien*, I, in *SBWAW*, CII (1883), 205.

³⁷ *Geschichte Irans*, p. 44. [For Chang Ch'ien, see H. A. Giles, *A Chinese Biographical Dictionary* (Shanghai, 1878), pp. 12-13 no. 29.]

³⁸ «Cf. Barthold, "Greko-baktriiskoe gosudarstvo," *Soch.* II/2, 456.»

of the second century, Menander, ruling over a substantial part of India, was a Buddhist, and after his death he was recognized as one of the Buddhist saints.³⁹

The Graeco-Bactrian state collapsed after 175 B.C. as a result of internal disorders. The event was to provoke an onslaught of Central Asian nomads, who were most probably related to the sedentary Iranians in origin. As early as 206 B.C., Euthidemos in his struggle with Antiochos the Great of Syria threatened to incite the nomads to invade the country, and Antiochos, impressed by this threat, agreed to conclude peace.⁴⁰ The son of Euthidemos, Dimitrios, was driven out of Bactria by Eukratidos, and ruled only in India, that is, the country beyond the Hindū Kush. Eukratidos had to wage war against Euthidemos's descendants in India, against the Greek rulers of the Hilmand basin, and in addition, according to Justin, against the peoples of Aria and Soghdiana; as a result of this, the Parthians, gaining strength at that time under the rule of Mithridates I, were able to take the provinces of Aspiona and Turibia from the Bactrians.⁴¹ In Gutschmid's opinion these regions were a part of Aria.⁴² There is a report that Mithridates spread his rule to India, but the invasion of the latter country, as Gutschmid shows, was carried out not by the Parthians but by the Sakas, a people of the Chinese chronicles, who at that time were driven out of Semirechie. This movement is known to have been connected with one of the great migrations of Central Asian history. Almost contemporaneous with the invasion of the Sakas was the conquest of Semirechie by their pursuers, the Yüeh-chih, a circumstance which, according to Gutschmid, explains Justin's words when he lists among the enemies of Eukratidos the Soghdians.⁴³ From Soghdiana the Yüeh-chih gradually conquered Bactria. Strabo mentions as conquerors of Bactria the Assi, Pasians, Tokharians, and Sakarauks instead of the Yüeh-chih; Pompeius Trogus (whom Justin used as a source) calls them Sarauks and Asians, and one of the lost chapters of Pompeius Trogus had the title "How the Asians Established Themselves as Kings among the Tokharians." Together with the

³⁹ Gutschmid, *Geschichte Irans*, p. 105.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

⁴² «For the history of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom, see: *Istoriia tadzhikskogo naroda*, I, 290-340, 535-40; Masson-Romodina, I, 102-30; W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India* (Cambridge, 1951); A. K. Narain, *The Indo-Greeks* (Oxford, 1957); G. Woodcock, *The Greeks in India* (London, 1966).»

⁴³ *Geschichte Irans*, p. 50.

Takhorians or Tokharians, Ptolemy mentions along the Syr Daryā also the Iatians. Gutschmid draws the conclusion that the conquerors of Bactria were Tokharians,⁴⁴ and that the “words Asians, Assi, Iatii, and Yüeh-chih were more or less successful attempts to render the probably hard-to-pronounce name of the principal Tokharian orda.”⁴⁵ There is thus a discrepancy between the Chinese sources that mention only one conquering kingdom in Bactria, and the classical authors who mention also the Sarauks or Sakarauks; Gutschmid explains this discrepancy by the fact that the Sakarauks conquered Margiana, which had earlier been a part of the Bactrian kingdom and which had later been taken away from them by the Parthians. Phraates II, successor of Mithridates I, obtained victory over the Sakarauks, but at the end of his reign these same Sakarauks defeated the Parthian; Phraates himself fell in the battle. The Scythians laid waste the domains of the Parthians and then occupied the region that received from them the name Sakastena, modern Si-jistān or Sīstān.

The name of the region of ʾukhāristān has remained as a memorial of the Tokharians, a term that was used at the time of the Arab geographers in two meanings: in the narrower sense, ʾukhāristān was understood to be the region south of the Āmū Daryā and east of Balkh,⁴⁶ with the capital ʾālaqān (now ʾāliqān), and extending eastward to Badakhshān and southward to the Hindū Kush. In the broader sense, however, the term ʾukhāristān was applied to the whole region along both banks of the Āmū Daryā as far the nearest mountains—primarily to the country east of Balkh, even though the ninth-century geographer Ibn Khurradādhbih in one place mentions as part of ʾukhāristān also the region to the south of the Āmū Daryā below Balkh, down to the basin of the

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

⁴⁵ For the “main Tokharian orda”—the Yüeh-chih—cf. Baron A. von Staël-Holstein's 1914 articles: in *JRAS* (January 1914), pp. 79-88 (“Was There a Kusana Race?”) and in *SBAW Berlin* (1914), pp. 643-50 (“KOPANO und Yüeh-shih”). Cf. Kitsi (Getsi) in F.W.K. Müller, *Uigurica*, I, in *APAW* (1908), p. 15 n. 1 (cf. S. M. Malov's preface to the edition of *Suvarṇaprabhāsa*), and Gaču in Sanan Setsen, *Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen und ihres Fürstenhauses*, tr. I. J. Schmidt (St. Petersburg and Leipzig, 1829), p. 16. (See also Barthold, “K voprosu o iazykakh”; for the present-day state of the “Tokharian problem” see A. A. Freiman, “Tokharskii vopros”; *Tokharskie iazyki*, bibliography, p. 217; E. G. Pulleyblank, “Chinese and Indo-Europeans,” *JRAS* (1966), pp. 9-39.)

⁴⁶ Cf. Balādhuri, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1879), p. 408: “Balkh, it is the [principal] city of ʾukhāristān.”

Murghāb and to the town of Zamm, now Kerki.⁴⁷ The Tokharians seem to have had little influence west of Balkh. We have seen that already in the second century B.C., the Parthians had gained control of the western part of Bactriana; further south in the basin of the Hilmand, a separate Parthian kingdom was subsequently formed, which for some time extended to the estuary of the Indus.

A hundred years after the Yüeh-chih or Tokharians settled in Bactria, the clan of the Kushans became prominent among them; they gradually gained control of a considerable part of India.⁴⁸ Their kings called themselves "firm in the law," that is, protectors of Buddhism. Only in the third century A.D. did the expulsion of the Tokharians, or, as the Indian sources call them, the Saka, from India begin; their rulers returned to Balkh, where they came under the political and cultural influence of the Sāsānid dynasty, which had just become established. This influence is noticeable in their titles, such as that of *shāhānshāh*, or in their coins that imitated those of the Sāsānids.⁴⁹ In the fifth century begins the rule of the so-called White Huns or Hephthalites, who in the opinion of most scholars were also a branch of the Yüeh-chih or Tokharians.⁵⁰ The fifth-century author Priscus calls these Huns Kidarites (Κιδαριται). This name, according to the successful explanation of Gutschmid, comes from the name of the founder of the new dynasty, Kidara (Tsi-dolo in Chinese transcription),⁵¹ who founded a new state in Balkh and also conquered the regions south of the Hindū Kush.⁵² The state of the Hephthalites lasted until the middle of the sixth century, when it was destroyed by the Sāsānids in alliance with the Turkish khans. The name "Hephthalite" was known to the Arabs in the form of Hayṭal (pl. Hayāṭila), and it exists in this form in

⁴⁷ Ibn Khurradādhbih, *Kitāb al-Masālik wa 'l-mamālik*, ed. and tr. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1889), tr., p. 26.

⁴⁸ Kušānu, gen. pl.; kuši, nom. sing.; cf. Staël-Holstein, "KOPANO," pp. 645 ff.

⁴⁹ E. Specht, "Du déchiffrement des monnaies Sindo-Ephtalites," *JA*, ser. 9, XVII (1901), 487-523. (For more successful attempts to read the inscriptions on Hephthalite coins see H.F.J. Junker, "Die hephthalitischen Münzeninschriften," *SBAW Berlin*, XXXVII (1930), 641-62; E. Herzfeld, *Kushano-Sasanian Coins* (Calcutta, 1930); R. Ghirshman, *Les Chionites-hephthalites* (Cairo, 1948).) [Staviskii, *Kushanskaia Baktريا*.]

⁵⁰ «For the ethnic affiliation of the Hephthalites, see *Istoriia tadzhikskogo naroda*, I, 413-20, 552-54; A. J. van Windekens, "Huns blancs et ārçi. Essai sur les appellations du 'tokharien'," *Le Muséon*, LIV (1941), 161-86; Ghirshman, *Les Chionites-hephthalites*; S. Konow, "The White Huns and Tokharian," *ANVA* (1947), 2. Hist.-fil. K1. pp. 77-82, and the bibliographies to these works.»

⁵¹ «Today the accepted transcription is Tsidolo.»

⁵² *Geschichte Irans*, p. 170.

Yāqūt's geographical dictionary. The Greek transcriptions 'Εφθαλίται and 'Αβδέλαι, the Syriac transcription Abdel, and the Armenian transcription Heptal all seem to show, as Tomaschek had already pointed out, that instead of Hayṭal and Hayāṭila one should read Habṭal and Habāṭila, with a change in the diacritical marks of the Arabic consonant ductus.⁵³ The same word, most probably, appears in the form Yaṭṭal (the name of a village in the mountains of Ṭukhāristān); a village in Badakhshān still has this name now. It seems that the Hephthalites lived primarily to the north of the Āmū Daryā, at least in the area west of Balkh; the Arab geographers state that the Āmū Daryā separated Khurāsān on one side from the Hayṭal on the other, and they even report genealogical traditions about two brothers, Khurāsān and Hayṭal (or Habṭal), grandsons of Sim or Shem, son of Noah.⁵⁴ The state of the Hephthalites was destroyed by the Turks. In the seventh century, at the time of Hsüan-tsang's pilgrimage, Ṭukhāristān (in the broad sense of the word) was divided into twenty-seven small domains subjected to the Turks; the Hayṭal nation is still mentioned at the time of the Muslim conquest in the beginning of the eighth century. The rule of the Sāsānids did not have, it would seem, much importance here, and the dominant religion was Buddhism in Balkh and in the dependent regions on both banks of the upper course of the Āmū Daryā down to the Arab conquest.

The conquest of Balkh by the Arabs took place, according to one group of reports, at the time of the caliph 'Uthmān, according to others, at the time of Mu'āwiya; the town, it seems, put up a stubborn resistance, so that it was destroyed and for some time ceased to exist. The new Arab town, Barūqān, was built at a distance of two farsakhs, that is, about twelve versts [or eight miles] from Balkh. The temple of Nawbahār was also destroyed, but the place remained sacred for the natives, and in the eighth century, at the time of Qutayba b. Muslim, the Tokharian princes who rose against Qutayba performed their prayers here.⁵⁵ In 727 the governor Asad rebuilt Balkh and resettled here the Arabs of Barūqān, which is henceforth no longer mentioned. The reconstruction of the town was assigned to the famous family of the Barmakids, who had at

⁵³ *Über die ältesten Nachrichten über den skythischen Norden. I*, in SBWAW, CXVI (1888), 751.

⁵⁴ Maqdisī, p. 261.

⁵⁵ Ṭabarī, II, 1205.

one time administered Nawbahār; ⁵⁶ under the 'Abbāsids, the Bar-makids, as is well known, became the organizers of the caliphal empire. At the time of the 'Abbāsids and of the first Persian dynasties—the Ṭāhirids, Ṣaffārids, and Sāmānids—Balkh, together with Ṭukhāristān (in the narrow sense), was governed by a local dynasty, which, because of its insignificance, is barely mentioned in the sources, but which struck coins; the numismatists call this dynasty the Abū Dāwūdids, after the name of Abū Dāwūd Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, who ruled at the end of the ninth century.⁵⁷ Balkh remained at this time the entrepôt of trade with India.

Several roads lead from Balkh to India; the most important one always followed the valley of the Khulm river which like the Balkh Āb flows from the Hindū Kush but does not reach the Āmū Daryā. The journey from Balkh to the Khulm river was reckoned to take two days. Today, the last settlement that is irrigated by the water of the Balkh Āb is Gūr-i Mār ("tomb of the serpent"); there is a legend about a combat between 'Alī and a snake in this place. Further up toward the Khulm river, for a distance of twenty-four English miles, there is no water at all; only recently there appeared half-way up the small settlement of Nā'ibābād, to which the water of a stream from nearby hills has been conducted. Near the place where the Khulm river leaves the mountains, there is now the fortified city of Tāsh-Kurgān, built in the eighteenth century by Aḥmad Shāh, founder of the present-day Afghan state; it is situated at a distance of several versts (two to three English miles) south of old Khulm, from which the inhabitants were moved to the new town. The ruins of old Khulm, judging by Yate's description,⁵⁸ offer nothing of interest.⁵⁹ Even now the town of Tāsh-Kurgān has commercial importance; all the caravans between Bukhārā and India stop here, and the goods are distributed from here throughout the country.

After Khulm, the road enters a narrow gorge of the river; according to travelers' accounts, there is hardly any room for the

⁵⁶ «Cf. P. Schwarz, "Bemerkungen zu den arabischen Nachrichten über Balkh," *Oriental Studies in Honour of Cursetji Erachji Pavry* (London, 1933), pp. 434-43.»

⁵⁷ «Cf. *Hudūd al-'ālam*, tr. V. Minorsky, p. 341.» [The Abū Dāwūdids are also sometimes called the Bānījūrids, after an eponymous, possibly legendary ancestor; see C. E. Bosworth, *EP*, Suppl., art. "Bānījūrids,"]

⁵⁸ *Northern Afghanistan*, p. 315.

⁵⁹ «Cf. Masson-Romodina, I, 170.» [For Khulm, see now J. Humlum *et al.*, *La géographie de l'Afghanistan, étude d'un pays aride* (Copenhagen, 1959), p. 155; Bosworth, *EP*, s.v.]

little river and the road alongside it between the tall cliffs; at one spot the space between the cliffs narrows to forty feet. The journey from Khulm to Siminjān (Simingān) was reckoned to take two days. The town of Simingān (Khelu-si-min-tsian in Chinese transcription) is mentioned as early as Hsüan-tsang's seventh-century account; it still had this name at the end of the fourteenth century, at the time of Timūr's Indian campaign. The history of Timūr's campaign also mentions between Khulm and Simingān the village of Ghazniyak, now Gaznigak, fifteen English miles from Khulm, where the gorge widens and takes on the appearance of a somewhat wider valley covered with grass.⁶⁰ As for Simingān, its location is doubtless identical with that of the fortress of Haybak, which is located in the widest part of the Khulm valley, and which has a great strategic importance. The surroundings of Haybak are distinguished by their unusual fertility; the whole area is covered with trees and orchards. In the surrounding region there are many monuments from the time of Buddhist domination, in particular, caves dug out by hermits and stupas for keeping holy relics.⁶¹ From Simingān or Haybak, the main road led eastward across the mountains up to its junction with the valley of the next river, the Aq Saray, now also called Āb-i Qunduz after the main town of the region; in the valley of the Aq Saray, two days' journey from Simingān, was the town of Baghlān, which still exists under the same name.⁶² In the valley of the Khulm river, in the mountains between Simingān and Baghlān and in the surrounding area, the military encounters between Qutayba and the princes of Tūkhārīstān took place in the eighth century, encounters described in some detail by Ṭabarī.⁶³ Incidentally, the mountain locality of Ishkamish, which still bears that name, is already mentioned at that time.⁶⁴ From Baghlān it took

⁶⁰ «Ghiyāth al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī, *Rūz-nāma-yi ghazawāt-i Hindūstān*, ed. L. A. Zimin and V. V. Barthold (Petrograd, 1915), p. 198.»

⁶¹ «For the monuments in the environs of Haybak, see: *Hudūd al-'ālam*, tr. V. Minorsky, pp. 109, 338; Masson-Romodīn, I, 29-30; L. Foucher, *La vieille route de l'Inde, Bactres à Taxila* (Paris, 1942-1947), I, 123-29, 170-71, pl. xxvii; A. Godard, Y. Godard, and J. Hackin, *Les antiquités bouddhiques de Bāmīyān* (Paris, 1928), pp. 65-74.»

⁶² «For the name Baghlān (Bactrian *vaylāng* = "sanctuary, temple"), and for excavations of the temple complex in Surkh Kotal, see: W. B. Henning, "Surkh Kotal," *BSOAS*, XVIII (1956), 366-67; Masson-Romodīn, I, 190-96; D. Schlumberger, "Le temple de Surkh Kotal en Bactriane (IV)," *JA*, CCLII (1964), pp. 303-26.»

⁶³ Ṭabarī, II, 1219 ff.

⁶⁴ «Cf. J. Markwart, *Wehrot und Arang. Untersuchungen zur mythischen und geschichtlichen Landeskunde von Ostiran* (Leiden, 1933), p. 86.»

three days to reach Andarāb, which was situated next to the principal ridge of the Hindū Kush, and which had considerable commercial importance. Among the mountain passes that lead to the southern side of the Hindū Kush toward the Indus basin and the valley of the river Banjhīr, now Panjshīr, the most convenient one was, according to L. F. Kostenko, that of Khāwak;⁶⁵ in Tīmūr's time a fortress was built there. The valley of the Panjshīr was noted for its silver ores, considered to be the richest in Muslim Central Asia; they still exist today.⁶⁶ In the valley of the Panjshīr were the towns of Gārbāya (two days' journey from Andarāb), Banjhīr (one day's trip further down) and Parwān or Farwān (two more days); the last one still has this name today, and is located near the confluence of the Ghūrbānd with the Panjshīr.⁶⁷ At Parwān the road bifurcates; one branch sets out directly southward over Chārikār and Istālīf to the Kābul valley, the other climbs southwestward along the Ghūrbānd, past a settlement of the same name, which was conquered by the Arabs at the end of the eighth century, to Bāmiyān. There was yet another road to Bāmiyān—through the valley of the Khulm river, which becomes narrower again above Haybak, and through several mountain passes, of which the southernmost one, Aq Rabāt, is still considered to be the border between Kābulistān and Afghan Turkeṣtān. The tenth-century geographers only briefly mention this road from Balkh to Bāmiyān, and reckon six days of travel from Balkh to the town of Mādar, and from there four more days to Bāmiyān. The settlement of Mādar still exists, and in its vicinity one can see the ruins of the old town.^b The mention of Mādar shows that the road in question is the one that leads from the valley of the Balkh Āb into that of the Khulm river,

⁶⁵ *Turkestanskii krai*, II, 190. Reference to J. Wood, *A Journey to the Source of the River Oxus* (London, 1872), p. 274, in I. Minaev, *Svedeniia*, p. 125.

⁶⁶ For the mining of silver, see Sam'ānī, *Kutāb al-Ansāb*, facs. ed. D. S. Margoliouth (London, 1912), fol. 92a, as well as Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, s.v. "Banjhīr."

⁶⁷ M. Longworth Dames, *EP*¹, art. "Ghazna," about Parwān as the only place of mint of Sebüktekin's coins. (Cf. R. Frye, *EP*², art. "Farwān.") [C. E. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids, Their Empire in Afghanistan and Eastern Iran 994-1040* (Edinburgh, 1963), pp. 38, 43.]

^b This Mādar was one of the two villages linked together in the sources as Mādar u Mūy (for example, in Ibn Bābā al-Qāshānī and Jūzjānī, cf. *Hudūd al-'ālam*, tr. V. Minorsky, p. 109); it was here that Sebüktingin, founder of the Ghaznavid dynasty, died. See Muḥammad Nāẓim, *The Life and Times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna* (Cambridge, 1931), p. 32, and C. E. Bosworth, *The Later Ghaznavids, Splendour and Decay: the Dynasty in Afghanistan and Northern India 1040-1186* (Edinburgh, 1977), pp. 135, 146.

and not the still more arduous road upstream along the Balkh Āb to its source; on the latter road, a place called Band-i Amīr is noteworthy, for the river is divided by several natural dams formed by rocks into five or six lakes full of all kinds of fish. The place is considered sacred and is visited by pilgrims.⁶⁸

A road from Balkh through Khulm also led eastward to Badakhshān and from there to Tibet, that is, to the upper reaches of the Indus system inhabited by the Tibetans. On this road was the largest city of Tūkhāristān, Ṭālaqān, which still has the same name (Ṭāliqān). In the tenth century it was one-third the size of Balkh; subsequently its importance declined considerably, and in 1837 Wood counted only three or four hundred houses here. The town is located on one of the tributaries of the Aq Saray; Maqdisī states that the town was cut through by two sleeves, that is, probably by two tributaries of the Āmū Daryā.⁶⁹ From Khulm to Ṭālaqān the distance was reckoned to be four days of travel; on this road was situated the town of Warwalīz (also spelled Walwalīz and Walwalīj).⁷⁰ There is no doubt that both Ṭālaqān and Warwalīz were situated in the valley of the Aq Saray and its tributaries; in the valley of the Aq Saray is also the road that goes to Andarāb and from there across the Hindū Kush. The modern chief city of the valley, Qunduz, did not yet exist in the tenth century; it is mentioned as the capital of an independent domain at the time of Chingiz Khan's campaigns, that is, in the thirteenth century. In the nineteenth century, Qunduz was the chief town of an extensive Uzbek khanate that controlled several regions on both sides of the Āmū Daryā.^c

From Ṭālaqān, travelers reached the main city of the region, Badakhshān, in seven days. The town of Badakhshān most probably stood on the site of the modern chief city of the region, Fayḍābād. The Badakhshān city of Jurm, which still exists today, is called by the ninth-century geographer Ya'qūbī "the last of the eastern cities which belong to Balkh in the direction of the land of the Tibetans."⁷¹ Badakhshān, moreover, is situated on the direct road from Balkh eastward across the Pamir to eastern Turkeṣtān. Because of the bend here in the river Panj and the difficulties of the road on the right bank of the river, relations even between the

⁶⁸ «Cf. Mukhammed Ali, *Afghanistan*, pp. 116 ff.»

⁶⁹ Maqdisī, p. 303.

⁷⁰ «Cf. *Hudūd al-'ālam*, tr. V. Minorsky, p. 340.»

^c [On this place, see now Bosworth, *EP*, art. "Qunduz."]

⁷¹ *Kutāb al-Buldān*, p. 288.

regions situated on the right bank of the Panj usually took place by way of Badakhshān. As for the importance of the Badakhshān region itself, Yate described it as a cold and poor country, which could never become rich because of the lack of arable land.⁷² On the other hand, medieval geographers and travelers extol Badakhshān not only for its ruby and lapis lazuli mines, but also for its beautiful climate, its broad and well-cultivated valleys, and its excellent pastures.⁷³ Badakhshān was frequently subjected to conquest and changes of dynasty; nevertheless, in the nineteenth century the rulers of Badakhshān, who had the title of *mīr* (that is, *amīr*), still considered themselves to be descendants of Alexander the Great; as proof, they kept certain objects of Graeco-Bactrian culture (coins, silver cups, and so on).⁷⁴ Badakhshān was the last of the regions of the left bank of the Panj that in the Middle Ages were under some degree of control by Balkh. Also historically linked with Balkh were the regions on the right side of the Āmū Daryā that now constitute a part of the Bukhārā khanate but that are linked with Balkh by much more adequate roads than those to Samarqand and Bukhārā. Despite the commercial importance of Balkh, the late tenth-century geographer Maqdisī calls it "a dreary town, located aside from the main road," which suggests a certain decline in trade with India.⁷⁵

Balkh acquired a special importance in the eleventh century at the time of the Ghaznawids, when it became one of the capitals of the famous sultān Maḥmūd, even though it was subjected in 1006 to a destructive incursion by the Qarakhānids. Before this, the Āmū Daryā, just as now, was declared to be the boundary between the kingdoms of Turkeṣtān and eastern Iran; after his victory over the Qarakhānids, however, Maḥmūd annexed the regions pertaining to Balkh that were on the right bank of the river. In the middle

⁷² *Northern Afghanistan*, p. 320. [On the geography of the region, see Humlum, *La géographie de l'Afghanistan*, pp. 110-12; L. Dupree, *Afghanistan* (Princeton, 1973), p. 8.]

⁷³ Barthold, *Turkestan* (Eng. tr.), p. 66. [The lapis lazuli mines of the district were exploited from very early times; in Mesopotamia, lapis lazuli objects are found from the late Ubaid period (mid- and late-fifth millennium B.C.). See Georgina Herrmann, "Lapis Lazuli: the Early Phases of Its Trade," *Iraq*, XXX (1968), 21-57.]

⁷⁴ «(See also: V. V. Barthold, *ET*¹, art. "Badakhshān," *Soch.* III, 347 ff., V. V. Barthold, A. Bennigsen, and H. Carrère d'Encausse, *ET*², art. *Badakhshān*"; Sang Muḥammad Badakhshī and Faḍl Beg Hājī Surkhafsar, *Ta'rikh-i Badakhshān*, ed. A. N. Boldyrev (Leningrad, 1959); Kūshkaki; T. G. Abaeva, *Ocherki istorii Badakhshana* (Tashkent, 1964), with bibliography.)

⁷⁵ Maqdisī, p. 302.

of the eleventh century, Balkh was incorporated into the possession of the Saljuqs, who also subjugated its dependent regions, and the Hindū Kush became the official boundary between the Saljuq and Ghaznawid possessions. When in the twelfth century the mountain nation of the Ghūrids, whom we shall discuss below, rose in prominence, Balkh became one of its possessions. The city was destroyed in the Mongol invasion and remained ruined until the first half of the fourteenth century. Just as in the eleventh century, now too the Āmū Daryā was declared to be the boundary—this time between the possessions of the descendants of Chaghatay and those of Hülegü. This time, too, the boundary was soon violated: the Chaghatay khans firmly established themselves in Balkh and in the neighboring regions in the thirteenth century. The restoration of Balkh is attributed by Muslim historians to the Chaghatay khan Kebek, who died in 1326, but Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who was there in 1333, still found the city in ruins.⁷⁶ In 1368, the amīr Ḥusayn, Tīmūr's predecessor, decided to rebuild the fortress of Hinduwān, the former citadel of the city of Balkh; the inhabitants of the city were forcibly moved to the fortress, so that the former was ruined [again]. After the overthrow of Ḥusayn by Tīmūr in 1370, the fortress was destroyed and the inhabitants were ordered to return to the old city. Tīmūr received the oath of the Chaghatay nobles and commanders in the vicinity of Balkh. In the fifteenth century, the city formed part of Tīmūrid domains, and subsequently it was a bone of contention between the Uzbek khans, the shāhs of Persia, and the Great Mughals of India, whose place was taken by the newly formed Afghan state in the eighteenth century. The Uzbeks became the ethnically dominant element in Balkh and in the regions to the east and west of it. The country from the Murghāb to the border of Badakhshān received the name of Turkeṣtān, and it has kept it to this day, even after its incorporation into Afghanistan; before that, it was alternately under the rule of independent Uzbek rulers and of the khans of Bukhārā. The latter, for understandable reasons, especially valued Balkh, which still belonged to them in the nineteenth century. In the heyday of the Bukhāran khanate, Balkh was an important city and was called, as before, *umm al-bilād* ("mother of cities") and *qubbat al-Islām* ("dome of Islam"). We have a detailed description of the city as it was in the seventeenth century in the work called

⁷⁶ Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Riḥla*, ed. and tr. C. Defrémery and B. Sanguinetti (Paris, 1853-1858), III, 58-62.

Bahr al-asrār fi manāqib al-akhyār by Maḥmūd b. Walī.⁷⁷ Balkh was joined to Afghanistan in 1850; the final subjugation of the entire Afghan Turkeṣtān took place only in the 1880s.

From among the more recent travelers, Burnes visited Balkh in 1832, Ferrier in 1845, and Yate in 1886. The last-named describes the ruins of the city in great detail and includes a plan.⁷⁸ The old wall encompasses an area about six and a half English miles in circumference and has four gates (in Maḥmūd b. Walī's time it had six gates). Contiguous with the city on the northeastern side are the ruins of the fortress, which is situated at a considerably higher level; the citadel itself, fifty feet higher still, is located in the southwestern (according to the plan, southeastern) corner of the fortress. The fortress and the citadel are totally uninhabited; Yate observes that there is absolutely no water in the former, and that it is hard to see from where water could have been brought in the past. The citadel (*quhandiz*) still existed in the seventeenth century, when it was called the *shahr-i darūn* ("inner city") and had four gates.⁷⁹ Today only the southern side of the city is inhabited. Visible at the western gate are three tall arches—remnants, according to the inhabitants, of the Friday mosque; at a certain distance to the east one can see the remnants of the *chārsū* (*chahār sū*), that is, the central dome of the bazaar. As in the case of other large cities of Afghanistan, such as Harāt, Balkh was traversed by two main streets, from south to north and from west to east, alongside which were the covered bazaars; at the intersection of these two main streets was the domelike structure. Somewhat further east, one can see the remnants of a high gate. Yate points out that the remnants of the old wall are visible from the southwestern corner of the city, specifically from the tower Burj-i Azarān, all the way to the southwestern corner of the fortress; here, in his opinion, ended the old town, whereas the western part was joined on to it later. From his description, however, one could also draw the opposite conclusion, namely, that the eastern part is more recent than the western. Yate describes two more buildings, without mentioning their location, namely, the "green mosque" (*masjid-i sabz*) with the tomb of a saint, and the ruins of a madrasa built by Subḥān Qulī Khan, who had

⁷⁷ Barthold, *Turkeskian*, (Eng. tr.), p. 313. [For Maḥmūd b. Walī's work, see C. A. Storey, *Persian Literature, a Bio-bibliographical Survey*, I (London, 1927), 375-76; Storey-Bregel, II, 1, 135-38.]

⁷⁸ Yate, *Northern Afghanistan*, p. 256.

⁷⁹ There is in the citadel a stone from white marble, the throne of Kaykāwūs (A. Burnes, *Travels into Bokhara* [London, 1839], II, 205).

ruled here in the second half of the seventeenth century. Most probably the whole city as depicted in Yate's plan and described in his book belongs to the Uzbek period.⁸⁰ The Afghans themselves placed the ruins of the earlier town to the east of the one described, calling them *shahr-i Hinduwān*, and maintained that this Balkh had been destroyed by Chingiz Khan, after which the new town came into being. It is not clear whether this town was contiguous with the citadel described. It is quite possible that the fortress together with the citadel is identical with the citadel of the old town destroyed by Chingiz Khan and rebuilt by the amīr Ḥusayn, and that the *shahristān* of the pre-Mongol period had been on the site of the ruins of *shahr-i Hinduwān*. According to the observations of Burnes, all the ruins visible today above the ground belong to the Islamic period, which is indeed most probably the case;⁸¹ other travelers such as J. P. Ferrier thought they saw in Balkh fragments of bricks with cuneiform script, but this has not been substantiated.⁸² Yate ascribes two large kurgans or mounds of the city to the Buddhist period: Takht-i Rustam and Tepe-yi Rustam;⁸³ judging by their location, it is possible that here were the two edifices of Nawbahār about which Hsüan-tsang wrote in the seventh century. Tepe-yi Rustam was a round building made of unbaked brick, 150 feet in diameter at the base and 50 feet tall;⁸⁴ the upper part of the building was faced with fired bricks. The edifice had a flat top; inside were visible four round cells; they were uncovered and open from above because their cupola-shaped roof had collapsed, so that there may be other cells as yet undisturbed. Below, four entrances were dug through. They converged in the center as passageways, but the explorer could not determine whether these passageways had existed from the very beginning or whether they had been dug later,

⁸⁰ Yate, *Northern Afghanistan*, p. 257. This is incorrect; not taken into account was the story about the siege of Balkh by the Bukhārāns in 1573. Cf. G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (Cambridge, 1905), pp. 421 ff., concerning the Nawbahār of Balkh only as a Zoroastrian one; identification of Balkh with Mazār-i Sharif. Staël-Holstein's observation on Hsüan-tsang, p. 20, is inexact. *Mazār* of Khwāja 'Ukkāsha in Mir 'Alī Shīr Nawā'i, *Maḡālīs al-nafā'is*, ms. Leningrad University, fol. 46a.

⁸¹ Burnes, *Travels*, II, 204.

⁸² J. P. Ferrier, *Voyages et aventures en Perse, dans l'Afghanistan, le Beloutchistan et le Turkestan* (Paris, 1870), I, 389.

⁸³ The local population calls this monument Top-i Rustam; for its excavations see A. Foucher, *La vieille route de l'Inde, Bactres à Taxila*, I, 83-98, 168-69, pls. xix-xx.

⁸⁴ The little upper platform is thirty yards in diameter; cf. Yate, *Northern Afghanistan*, p. 259.

possibly by grave robbers; at present they are so filled that it is impossible to pass through them. Takht-i Rustam is a mound of similar size; it is not round, however, but has a trapezoidal shape.⁸⁵ There are no traces of bricks; the edifice, it seems, was made of clay. The top is entirely flat and in some places eroded through by rain, but it is not known whether there had been any cells. In the surroundings of the town, there had been other similar mounds in which the explorer thought to recognize the remnants of similar Buddhist structures; the name Takht-i Rustam, according to Yate,⁸⁶ is usually applied by local inhabitants to ruins of Buddhist stupas.⁸⁷

We do not know whether there had been any Buddhist or other sanctuary on the place of the present-day principal Islamic sanctuary of the region, Mazār-i Sharīf, situated to the east of Balkh. In the Middle Ages, the village of Khayr had been here.⁸⁸ In the first half of the twelfth century, according to the report of the traveler Gharnāṭī, a rumor had spread that the caliph 'Alī had been born in this place; many affirmed that they had learned about this from the Prophet Muḥammad himself, who had appeared to them in dream. This was discussed in a meeting at the governor's office; one *faqīh* resolutely declared that this was impossible, for 'Alī had never been in those parts. That night the *faqīh* himself had a vision; in his dream he saw angels who took him to the grave, showed him the undecayed body of the caliph, and heaped on him reproaches and blows because he had suspected the Prophet of lying. The *faqīh* woke up with traces of the blows, hurried to the governor, and told him everything that had happened; the latter came with a large number of people to the designated place, found the undecayed body of the caliph, and ordered that a magnificent mausoleum be erected for him.⁸⁹ Despite its fantastic character, the

⁸⁵ «See Foucher, *La vieille route*, I, pl. xxi, a.»

⁸⁶ Yate, *Northern Afghanistan*, p. 321.

⁸⁷ «For the history of Balkh and its monuments, see also: R. Hartmann, *EI*¹, art. "Balkh"; R. N. Frye, *EI*², art. "Balkh"; E. Caspani and E. Cagnacci, *Afghanistan, crocevia dell'Asia* (Milan, 1951), pp. 240-42; D. N. Wilber, *Annotated Bibliography of Afghanistan* (New Haven, 1956), pp. 84, 177-78; for photographs of the monuments and a plan of the contemporary city, see: O. von Niedermayer, *Afghanistan* (Leipzig, 1924), pp. 48-64; Foucher, *La vieille route*, I.» [Z. V. Togan, "The Topography of Balkh down to the Middle of the Seventeenth Century," *CAJ* (1970). XIV, 277-88.]

⁸⁸ Le Strange, *The Lands*, p. 423 (after Khwāndamīr), about the village of Khwāja Khayrān, three leagues from Balkh. From Balkh to Mazār-i Sharīf, according to Ferrier, the distance was two farsakhs (I. Minaev, *Svedeniia*, p. 128; *ibid.*, p. 215, according to the itinerary by Faiz Bakhsh, two farsakhs or ten and a half miles).

⁸⁹ Barthold, *Turkestan* (Eng. tr.), p. 79.

story told by Gharnāī in general faithfully renders what he had heard in Balkh. The same thing is also told in the Persian verses that, according to Yate, are carved on the sarcophagus, even though the present-day structure of the *mazār* is of a later date;⁹⁰ it was built in 886/1481 by Sulṭān Ḥusayn [Bāyqarā], a descendant of Tīmūr, the old building having been destroyed by Chingiz Khan. According to the historian Isfizārī, the tomb of 'Alī was reopened in 885 A.H. (= A.D. 1480).⁹¹ The *mazār* with its blue domes represents the only substantial building in the whole town that grew around the holy place. The governor Nā'ib 'Alīm Khān, a Shī'ī, in 1866 chose Mazār-i Sharīf as his residence, and since then the town has become the main city of Afghan Turkeṣtān.⁹²

In the western part of ancient Bactria, that is, in the area between the Murghāb and Balkh, the character of the country is somewhat different. A certain distance below Balkh, the Āmū Daryā turns northwestward; the mountains, on the other hand, proceed southwestward. In this manner the distance between the river and the cultivated belt (the latter skirting the mountains), widens. The little rivers that flow from the northern slope of the mountains disappear in the sands long before reaching the Āmū Daryā. The waterless, sandy country between the Murghāb and the Āmū Daryā ends on the south with the flat elevation of Kara Bel, 3,500 to 4,000 feet high; from the southern edge of this elevation flow the so-called *shōrs*, little rivers filled with brackish water. These rivulets with little water flow partly into the Kala-Weli, a tributary of the Murghāb, and partly into the river Qaysār, which after its merger with the Āb-i Maymana and the Shīrīn Tagay is called Āb-i Andkhūy. Even some of the more important streams that belong to the Murghāb system are so impregnated with salt that they are useless not only for drinking but even for irrigation. Nevertheless, the southern part of the steppe wasteland (*chöl*) is habitable, if not by agriculturists at least by nomads. In this respect there is some difference between the steppe around Maymana and that around Andkhūy. Around Maymana there are excellent pastures; below Dawlatābād the pastures change into desert areas covered with moving sands.

The reports of Arab geographers show that in the course of the

⁹⁰ Yate, *Northern Afghanistan*, pp. 280-81.

⁹¹ Isfizārī, *Rawḍāt al-jannāt fī awṣāf madīnat Harāt*, ms. Leningrad University, no. 588, fol. 43a.

⁹² «See also: Barthold, *EP*, art. "Mazār-i Sharīf," *Soch.* III, 478; Masson-Romodīn, I, 348; for a photograph of the *mazār*, see Foucher, *La vieille route*, I., pl. ii; Muḥammed Ali, *Afghanistan*; G. A. Pugachenkova, *Iskusstvo Afganistana*, pp. 168-69.» [L. Dupree, *Afghanistan*, index.]

last millennium the cultivated belt has shrunk very little. Even then there was a desert, partly a sandy one, between Balkh and Marw (Merv). The water of the Balkh Āb reached in the northeast the village of Siyāhgird, five farsakhs from Balkh; there still exists a village of this name, and near it are the ruins of the old town.⁹³ The canals from the Balkh Āb, however, were conducted in the same direction as now, that is, northwestward. Describing the journey from Balkh to the next important town west of there, Ush-būrquān, Shabūraqān, or Shapūrgān (now Shibargān), the Arabs placed at a distance of seven farsakhs from Balkh the populous, well-watered settlement of Dastjird; water could be brought here only from the Balkh Āb.⁹⁴ Beyond it began the steppe; five farsakhs from Dastjird was the village of Sidra; originally, according to Qudāma, there was here only a lotus shrub (*sidra* in Arabic, hence the name of the village), and a post station in the middle of the desert; at the time of the earthquake of 203/818-19 the small spring near the bush became a large source and gave origin to the little river that flowed into the steppe; a copse soon grew around the source and a village appeared.⁹⁵ From here it was six farsakhs to Shapūrgān; in this manner the distance from Balkh to Shapūrgān was reckoned to amount to eighteen farsakhs. The modern settlements of Aqcha and Nimlik (the former is still an important town, while the latter is in ruins), approximately correspond to Sidra and Dastjird of the Arabs. There is no mention today of a source that would feed a specific stream; Aqcha is reached by the waters of the Balkh Āb; according to Yate, much water suited for irrigation flows from here into the steppe, but there are not enough people to take advantage of it.⁹⁶ In the locality of Unpaykal, northwest of Nimlik, Yate saw the ruins of an old town, comprising a whole row of tall, large houses; evidently each house had once been surrounded by its own orchard and vineyards.⁹⁷ These ruins are most probably those mentioned by Ferrier when he says that he saw, one hour before reaching Nimlik, the ruins of an early Bactrian town with

⁹³ Siyāhgird, according to Yate, *Northern Afghanistan*, p. 247, based on a communication from Peacock, measures ten square kilometers; it used to be a large city, but no one knows when.

⁹⁴ Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Safar-nāma* (Tehran, 1312/1894-1895), lithogr., p. 258, Dastjird; on the way from there to Balkh is the Pul-i Jamūkiyān, *ibid.*, p. 259. Cf. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, for Dastkird Jumūkiyān bi-Balkh. (Cf. also R. N. Frye, "Jamūk, Sogdian 'Pearl'?" *JAOS*, LXXI (1951), 143.)

⁹⁵ Qudāma b. Ja'far, *Kutāb al-Kharāj*, ed. and tr. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1889), tr. pp. 161-62.

⁹⁶ *Northern Afghanistan*, p. 255.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 254.

large heaps of fired bricks.⁹⁸ If there had indeed been a Bactrian city here, it may have been Eucratidis, built by King Eucratides; Tomaschek locates Eucratidis on the site of Khulm,⁹⁹ but Gutschmid cites Ptolemy, according to whom the town was situated on the left bank of the Balkh river below Balkh.¹⁰⁰ The region became depopulated only in the nineteenth century, when it was conquered by the Afghans after a stubborn resistance of the Uzbek population.¹⁰¹

Shapūrgān was already part of the area of Gūzgān or Gūzgānān, the Jūzjān of the Arabs. The region comprised the cultivated belt of two rivers that flow out of the mountains and disappear in the sands; today, these rivers do not have names of their own but are called after the towns lying on their courses. The eastern river is usually called Āb-i Shibargān, the western one is formed by the merger of two rivulets: Āb-i Qayṣār (with the Āb-i Maymana tributary) and Shīrīn Tagay; the river resulting from this confluence is called Āb-i Andkhūy. It is unknown in which period Gūzgān began to be considered an independent region; classical geographers do not know such a region, and make Bactria border immediately on Margiana. It was still known in the tenth century that Gūzgān had formerly not been a distinct region but had been associated with that of Balkh.¹⁰² In the ninth century, the name Gūzgān was applied only to the cultivated belt of the Āb-i Shapūrgān and to the mountainous region Gurziwan in the upper reaches of the rivulet Āb-i Maymana.¹⁰³ The residence of the Arab governors in the area was Anbār, one day's journey south of Shapūrgān, probably on the site of the modern town Sar-i Pul.¹⁰⁴ The local ruler lived in Gurziwan, in the village of Kundarm, four days' journey from Shapūrgān. The old capital of Gūzgān was Shapūrgān, which is confirmed by one of Ṭabarī's reports.¹⁰⁵ As at the present time, there was a wasteland between the course of the

⁹⁸ *Voyages*, I, 387.

⁹⁹ *PW*, art. "Baktriane."

¹⁰⁰ *Geschichte Irans*, p. 64.

¹⁰¹ See Yate, *Northern Afghanistan*, p. 255: "The Balkh river . . . expends immense volumes of spill-water in the desert beyond, all of which might be utilised were there only people to utilise it. But the people have all apparently been killed off."

¹⁰² Maqdisī, p. 298.

¹⁰³ Ya'qūbī, *Kutāb al-Buldān*, p. 287. [R. Hartmann, *EP*, art. "Djūzdjān." The region falls within the modern Afghan provinces of Maymana and Mazār-i Sharīf, see Humlum, *La géographie de l'Afghanistan*, pp. 112-13, 148-49.]

¹⁰⁴ [See *Hudūd al-'ālam*, tr. Minorsky, p. 335; Ghirshman, *Les Chionites-hephthalites*, p. 26.]

¹⁰⁵ Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, p. 87.

Shapūrgān river and that of the Shīrīn Tagay; this wasteland was called by the Arabs al-Qā', which means a plain or a lowland with stagnant water. The station of al-Qā' was probably not far from the place where several smallish rivulets disappear into the sands; the station belonged even in the ninth century to Gūzgān.¹⁰⁶ The main town of the cultivated belt of the Āb-i Qayṣār and the Shīrīn Tagay, Fāryāb, was most probably situated on the site of the modern town of Dawlatābād or somewhat lower, where there is today the village of Khayrābād. Mention is also made of the mountain settlement of Yahūdān or Yahūdiyya, where even in the ninth century—in Ya'qūbī's time—the ruler of Fāryāb still lived.¹⁰⁷ The settlement was on the site of modern Maymana, although only one day's journey was reckoned between it and Anbār. The name Maymana does not appear in the works of the tenth-century geographers. It is found in those of the thirteenth-century authors¹⁰⁸ in the form Maymand, which had, however, existed earlier; Sultān Maḥmūd's (998-1030) vizier [Aḥmad b. Ḥasan] Maymandī was from there.^d At the end of the tenth century, in Maqdisī's time, Yahūdiyya was considered to be the capital of Gūzgān.¹⁰⁹ The name of the town shows that it had a large Jewish colony.^e

The tenth-century geographers describe several roads between the towns of Gūzgān and give some information about them, without, however, describing any town in detail. We only learn that in Yahūdiyya there was a Friday mosque with two minarets, but that in Gūzgān it was not customary to erect minarets, and that in Ibn Ḥawqal's time the amīr, the nobles, and the population for a long time would not permit them to be built, on the grounds that it was not good to betray the customs of the ancestors.¹¹⁰

The region was still in Maqdisī's time not very thickly popu-

¹⁰⁶ Ibn Khurradādhbih, tr., p. 23; see also Qudāma, tr., p. 161.

¹⁰⁷ Ya'qūbī, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, p. 287.

¹⁰⁸ Jūzjānī, *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāsiri*, ed. W. Nassau Lees (Calcutta, 1864), pp. 378, 399-400. «The name Maymana appears in the tenth century in Bīrūnī; see *Hudūd al-'ālam*, tr. Minorsky, p. 335; cf. also R. B. Whitehead, *ET*¹, art. "Maimana"; B. Spuler, *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit* (Wiesbaden, 1952), p. 216.»

^d It is unlikely that Aḥmad b. Ḥasan Maymandī came from Maymana in Gūzgān, and that the form Maymand ever existed for the town of Maymana is far from certain (see Bosworth, *ET*², art. "Maymana"); he was much more likely a native of Maymand in Zābulistān, the region around Ghazna, and Mustawfī's notice of Maymand (*Nuzhat al-qulūb*, ed. Le Strange, p. 147, tr. *idem*, p. 145) clearly refers to this last.

¹⁰⁹ Maqdisī, p. 198.

^e See on this community, W. J. Fischel, "The Jews of Central Asia (Khorasan) in Mediaeval Hebrew and Islamic Literature," *Historia Judaica*, VII (1945), 29-50.

¹¹⁰ Ibn Ḥawqal, p. 321.

lated.¹¹¹ In the towns situated in the mountains there are mentioned orchards and vineyards; in the case of those situated on the plain, for example Shapūrgān, cultivated fields are said to have predominated, whereas orchards would have been few. As for the northernmost town, Andkhūd or Andkhūy, it is said that "it is a small town in the steppe with seven villages; nomads live there with their flocks of sheep and herds of camels." The distance from Fāryāb to Andkhūy was reckoned to be three days' journey, and from Andkhūy to Karkul, that is, Kerki on the Āmū Daryā, another three days' journey. The ruler of Gūzgān had at one time the title of Gūzgān-Khudāt. In the tenth century, Gūzgān was ruled by the local dynasty of the Farīghūnids (Āl-i Farīghūn), who had the title of amīr; this dynasty was overthrown by Maḥmūd of Ghazna.¹¹² Subsequently, Shapūrgān and other towns usually shared the fate of Balkh. In the nineteenth century, Shibargān, Sar-i Pul, Maymana, and Andkhūy were capitals of small Uzbek domains. They all consisted of the town proper and of the separate citadel that dominated each town; all suffered greatly during the conquest by the Afghans. Today almost no ancient ruins of town and buildings are left; near Andkhūy one can see extensive ruins of the old town, but even there, according to Yate, no monuments predating the end of the fourteenth century survive. Historians mention more often the citadel of Shapūrgān; according to Sharaf al-Dīn,¹¹³ this citadel is identical with the fortress of Safīd-diz, mentioned in Firdawsī's *Shāh-nāma*. According to Tomaschek, Shapūrgān is identical with the Bactrian city of Surogana, mentioned by the classical geographers.¹¹⁴ The region of Gūzgān was famous, according to Iṣṭakhri¹¹⁵ and Ibn Ḥawqal,¹¹⁶ for its curried hides, which were exported to other parts of Khurāsān.¹¹⁷

¹¹¹ Maqdisī, p. 298.

¹¹² «For the Farīghūnids, see Barthold, *Vvedenie*, pp. 4-7, *Soch*, VIII, 505-509; *Hudūd al-'ālam*, tr. Minorsky, pp. 173-78; Minorsky, "Ibn Farīghūn and the *Hudūd al-'ālam*," *A Locust's Leg, Studies in Honour of S. H. Taqizadeh* (London, 1962), pp. 189-96; D. M. Dunlop, *ET*, art, "Farīghūnids."»

¹¹³ Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdī, *Ẓafar-nāma* (Calcutta, 1885-1888), I, 221.

¹¹⁴ *PW*, art. "Baktriane."

¹¹⁵ Iṣṭakhri, p. 271.

¹¹⁶ Ibn Ḥawqal, p. 322.

¹¹⁷ «For Jūzjān, see also: *Hudūd al-'ālam*, tr. Minorsky, pp. 328-37; R. Hartmann, *ET*, art. *Djūzjdjān*"; B. Spuler, *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit*, index.))

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